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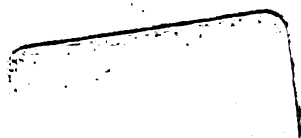
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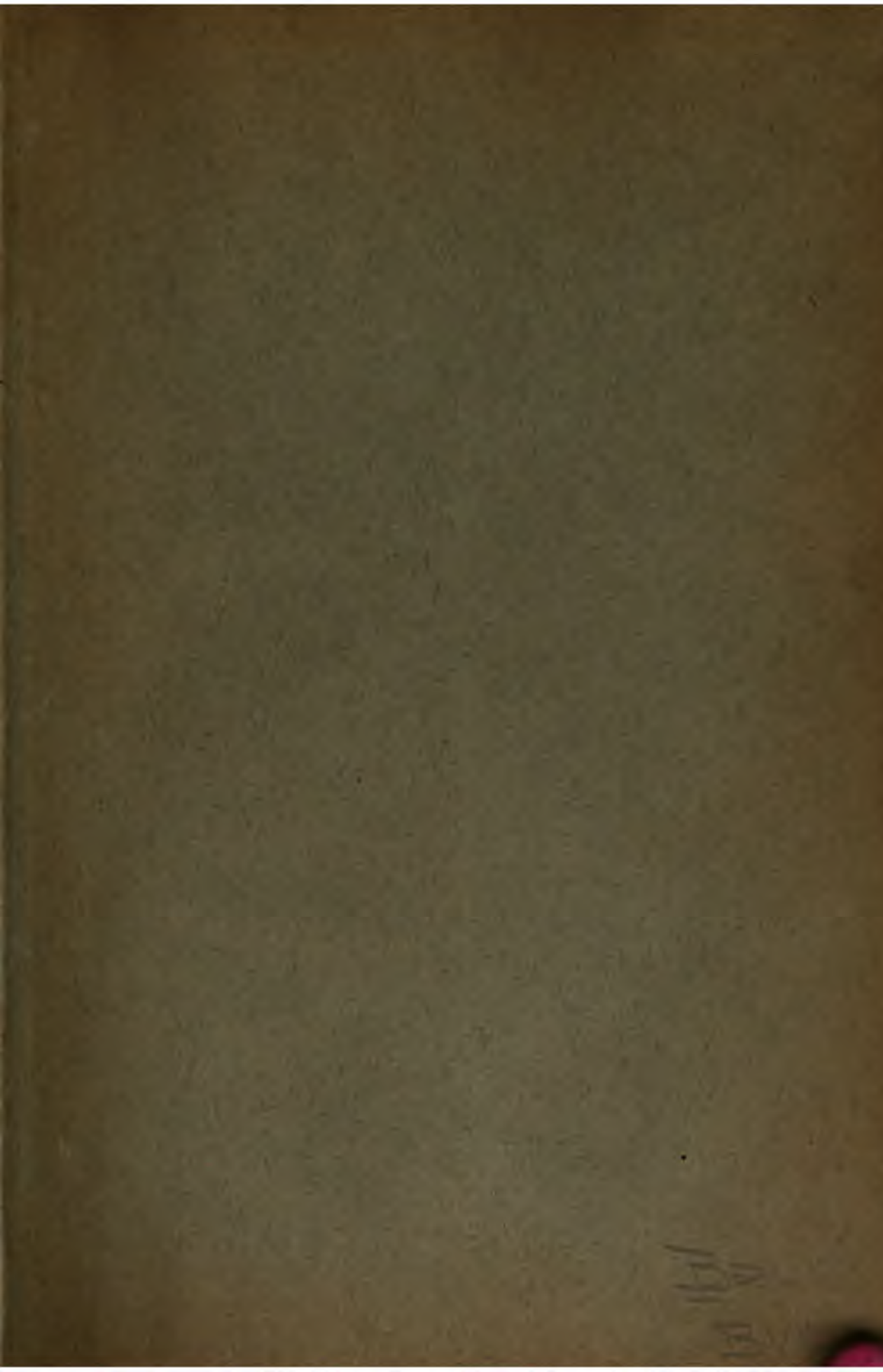
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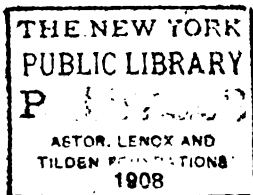
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EILEITHYIA

BY

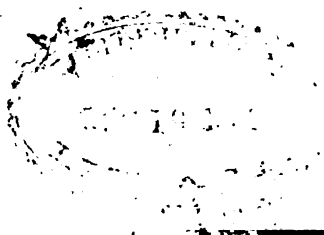
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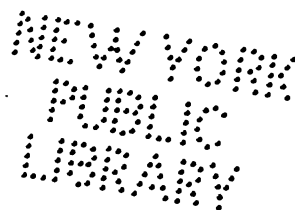
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EILEITHYIA



ABBREVIATIONS EMPLOYED

- C. I. A.* : Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.
C. I. G. : Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum.
Él. Cér. : Lenormant et de Witte, Élite des Monuments Céramographiques.
I. G. I. : Inscriptiones Græcarum Insularum.
I. G. S. : Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum Græciæ Septentrionalis.

EILEITHYIA*

CHAPTER I

IDOLS OF CHILDBIRTH

The oldest images of divinities found on Greek soil are idols of a most crude shape, belonging to the prehistoric period, which dates not later than 1500 B. C. It is very remarkable that those idols which represent females are by far more common than those representing males. The female idols are found not only throughout the Greek world, but also in the Orient. In Assyria, for instance, we have evidence that they were common as early as the fourth millennium.¹ They play a most important part in the earliest history of religion, and demand therefore our closest attention. We frequently hear the terms 'Babylonian Istar' or 'Phoenician Astarte' applied to this female type of idol without sufficient reason. It is not my intention to deal with the vexing question as to their proper terminology and original home, but we must, and this is of far greater importance, have a clear conception of the nature and character of these primeval female divinities. To attain this end it is necessary, on the one hand, to make a careful study of the manner in which they are represented; and on the other, to trace the development of the type. We shall thus reach the interesting result that the goddess—I do not attempt to give her a name—was worshipped for many centuries without interruption, from prehistoric times to the best period of Greek civilization.

*This work is a translation and revision of an article published by the author in the *Philologus*, Supplementband, VIII., pp. 453-512.

¹ See v. Fritze, in *Jahrbuch d. k. d. archäolog. Instituts*, XII. 1897, pp. 199 sqq.

The most primitive example of a goddess of this type is a lead idol found in Troy.³ It represents a nude standing female divinity, with arms crossed on her breast, with long curls over her ears, and with strongly marked vulva. Noteworthy is her necklace, consisting of a number of rings. Every candid and unprejudiced observer will recognize in this figure characteristic features of a female goddess of generation.

A similar type of female figures, but of terra-cotta instead of lead, has been found on the island of Cyprus. These divinities are called '*Brettidole*' by the German archaeologists, because their bodies have the shape of a board. The peculiar characteristics of the Cyprian type of prehistoric idols are the large breasts, the exaggerated indication of the vulva, and the hands laid on the abdomen.⁴ Especially common on the island of Cyprus is another type of oriental divinity, considerably later in date, a type which covers a long period. Here again the goddess is represented as standing and nude, but instead of laying her hands on her abdomen, she presses her breasts. A combination of the two types is occasionally found, in which the right hand presses the left breast, while the left hand covers the vulva.⁴ These gestures indicate clearly enough that we have not only a goddess of generation, but also a nourishing goddess before us. The later type, of which we have just been speaking, is not, however, limited to Cyprus; it is found in all parts of the Greek world. Quite fre-

³ For an illustration see Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, transl. by Eugénie Sellers, p. 67 fig. 60; Hoernes, *Urgeschichte der bild. Kunst in Europa*, p. 178 fig. 30. In Hoernes's illustration the hooked cross or swastika on the vulva is not given, for on cleaning the idol it was discovered by von der Steinen that this sign was a modern forgery. On this point see Hoernes, *l. c.* p. 178 note 1; p. 339 note 3; and p. 344, where he cites v. der Steinen's article, *Prähistorische Zeichen und Ornamente*, Sonderabdruck aus der *Bastian-Festschrift*, Berlin, 1896, p. 7 note 3.

⁴ For illustrations see Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 180 figs. 32-34.

⁵ Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, III. p. 555 figs. 379, 380; *ib.* p. 450 fig. 321; *ib.* p. 557 fig. 382. Cp. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 93.

quently it is modelled not in full figure, but in bust form, or, to speak more accurately, the upper part of the body is represented as a mask. As such it is found, for instance, in Boeotia in the fifth century B. C. When we take up the study of the votive offerings to the divinities of childbirth, we shall have occasion to refer once more to this remarkable mode of representation as a mask or *προσώμη*. It seems quite certain that the worshippers of the Cyprian terra-cotta board-shaped idols, and of the later lime-stone and terra-cotta idols of more human form, considered their divinity to be endowed, above all else, with maternal qualities. As a goddess of generation and nourishment she would naturally be the deity under whose special protection mothers would be willing to place themselves. As a motherly goddess she would furthermore be a care-taker and cherisher of children, a divine nurse or Kourotrophos. That she was in reality considered as such is proved by the monuments themselves, on which she is sometimes represented with a child on her arm.* It is a very old idea that the goddess under whose protection mothers and children stand, should be represented in her images as a mother or as a nurse herself. And so it is only natural that the goddess who produces fruitfulness in marriage should herself be treated as a fruitful divinity.

The prehistoric birth-giving and nourishing deity occurs not only in lead, terra-cotta, and lime-stone, but also in marble. On the islands of the Aegean sea, and even in the Peloponnesus, idols made in the nobler material have been found. This marble type is known at present under the name '*Inselidol*,' i. e., 'Island-idol,' and is, as I have stated above, usually identified with the Babylonian Istar or the Phoenician Astarte. That we are here

* Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 182 figs. 35, 36. In the Museum at Karlsruhe there is a very old idol with board-shaped body, carrying a child which stands on its shoulders. For other illustrations of Cyprian Kourotrophoi, see Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, III. p. 202, fig. 144; p. 553 fig. 376; p. 554 fig. 377. These figures are draped, and belong to a much later period than that with which we are concerned.

dealing with a divinity parallel to those already discussed is apparent from the characteristic nudity, the highly developed breasts, the broad hips, and the large vulva. She is at times even represented in a state of pregnancy.* Where such is the case, some archaeologists have been tempted to conclude that a human being is meant by the image, and not a goddess. But the necklace and especially the diadem with which these figures are adorned forbid such an interpretation. A divinity that had not suffered in person the pangs of childbirth during some period of her existence could not be popular as a goddess, whose chief care it was to take charge of the actual processes of birth. This conception of the gods is common to all peoples in the early stages of their religious development. The 'Island-idol,' besides being a goddess of generation, was also worshipped as a divine nurse or Kourotraphos, for she too is sometimes represented with a child in her arms.†

How wide-spread the type of the maternal goddess actually was, is seen from the terra-cotta figurines found in Thracian mounds. Here she is not represented as standing, but as seated on a primitive throne. Again she is entirely nude, has big broad hips, a remarkably large vulva, but exceedingly small breasts.† I shall not attempt to name these prehistoric idols, for I firmly believe that they were worshipped in different localities under different names, just as in later times there was any number of Kourotraphoi, lesser goddesses of childbirth and deities of healing in general. For my purpose it is quite unnecessary to find names for these divinities. It is of far greater importance to realize that in the prehistoric period the most important deity is not male, but female, and that it is her chief function to prevent bar-

* Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 184 figs. 37, 38. For an island idol as Kourotraphos, see Reichel, *Ueber Vorhellenische Götterculte*, p. 81 fig. 34 = Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, VI. p. 740 fig. 332. The child is standing on the head of the goddess.

† See Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, pl. III.

renness, to futher procreation, and to have a care for the young. And it is only natural that it should be so, for the great secret of birth and of the propagation of the human race concerned primitive peoples at a very early age. Primitive man creates his gods after his own image. Woman gives birth to mankind, she nourishes her offspring; for that very reason, indeed, man places himself under the protection of a maternal deity, whose noblest duty it is to care for the propagation of the tribe, and under whose protection the children flourish.

The same ideas concerning a birth-giving and child-nourishing goddess prevail among the masses in the Mycenaean and archaic periods. In the course of time, however, some changes had taken place in the mode of representation. I am inclined to interpret the well-known female Mycenaean type of idol as a goddess of generation, because it occurs not unfrequently with a child on its arm,⁸ and once as pregnant.⁹ Here, for the first time, we find the goddess draped. The breasts are scarcely indicated, but the necklace of the old type is still retained. It is noteworthy that the arms are raised, a position which the ancients thought would facilitate childbirth.¹⁰ Now, since the goddess is represented as divine nurse, since again she is with child, and since finally she stands with outstretched hands, a posture recommended as most helpful to women in labor, I do not hesitate to call these Mycenaean idols goddesses of childbirth.

⁸ See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l' Art*, VI. p. 742 fig. 335; Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, transl. by Eugénie Sellers, p. 128 figs. 126, 127; p. 186 figs. 159, 160. For the Mycenaean idol as Kourotraphos, see *Εφημερίς αρχαιολογική*, VI. 1888, pl. IX. no. 16. Cp. Mayer, *Jahrb. d. arch. Instituts*, VII. 1892, p. 197 note 21. See also Perrot et Chipiez, VI. p. 745 fig. 338. Reichel, *Vorhell. Götterculte*, pp. 68 sqq. gives an entirely different explanation of these Mycenaean terra-cotta idols.

⁹ See Dörpfeld, *Troja*, 1893, p. 101; Schliemann, *Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Troja*, 1890, pl. I. fig. 3=Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l' Art*, VI. p. 744 fig. 337.

¹⁰ See Wolters, *Εφημερίς αρχαιολογική*, X., 1892, pp. 229 sqq. for the gesture of outstretched hands.

In the post-Mycenaean period we have examples of a parallel divinity of childbirth in the bell-shaped female terra-cotta figurines found in Boeotian graves. Two copies of this type are in the Berlin Antiquarium. That one of these holds her hands on her abdomen, is important for the interpretation. The swastika or hooked cross which is painted on her dress need not have any particular significance, even though it originally served as a symbol for man or vulva,²² because in the post-Mycenaean period with which we are now concerned, the sign of the swastika was often used for purely ornamental purposes. A mere glance at the post-Mycenaean vase-paintings will prove this sufficiently. The characteristic peculiarity of the Berlin bell-shaped idols is the long neck, ornamented with a necklace consisting of nine rings, which reminds one of the lead idol found in Troy. A third, but more highly developed copy of this type, is now in the Louvre.²³ It is noteworthy that these idols, as well as those of the Mycenaean period, are draped, whereas those of the prehistoric period are entirely nude. Furthermore, it is noteworthy that the idols, both in the prehistoric and in the post-Mycenaean period, were often put into graves. Does this not seem to contradict the interpretation advanced above? Does it not rather seem to indicate that these idols are meant to represent human beings? Why should a maternal goddess of generation be placed in the grave with the dead? Without entering in detail upon this interesting question, I shall merely call attention to the fact that the ancients were staunch believers in the saving power of their divinities even after death. In other words, the tutelary goddess of the living was also the guardian spirit of the dead.

Other examples of the post-Mycenaean draped goddess of

²² For the swastika as a symbol, see Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, pp. 337 sqq.

²³ For the Berlin bell-shaped idols, see Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 397 figs. 124, 125; for the copy in Paris, see Hoernes, *ib.* p. 396 figs. 122, 123. See also Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art*, VII. p. 149 figs. 28, 29; p. 150 figs. 30, 31.

childbirth and fruitfulness have been found in great numbers in the Heraion, near Argos, excavated by the American School of Archaeology. They are not yet published, but Dr. Chase, who has charge of the terra-cottas, has kindly given me permission to mention these interesting and important finds. Sometimes the goddess is represented as standing, but more frequently as enthroned; she wears a diadem, necklace, large ornaments over her breast, and bracelets on her arm. The material is terra-cotta, the workmanship very primitive, due to religious conservatism, for the Argives of this period were capable of doing better work. It goes without saying that no other goddess would be worshipped in so universal a manner, here in this holy precinct of Hera, than the mistress of the temenos herself. And so, for the first time in the history of the development of this type of idol, are we able to assign a name. But we have no right to conclude that because the goddess of childbirth at the Argive Heraion was Hera, she was necessarily worshipped under the same name elsewhere. That the Argive Hera type actually represents a goddess of childbirth is strengthened by the fact that this type often appears as Kourotrophos with a child in her arm or at her breast.

Likewise the so-called '*Papades*' belong to this series. They resemble the idols from the Heraion in that they are always draped, and in that their bodies are not modelled with any attempt at reproducing nature, but are left quite as flat as a board. The arms, which have degenerated to mere stumps, are outstretched, and remind one of the Mycenaean idols; there is, however, not the slightest trace of breasts." That they are nevertheless female figures is seen by the girdle, necklace, and rich head-dress.

We have just considered quite a large series of prehistoric and early Greek idols, and have reached the following conclusions. In the oldest period a peculiar type of idol was worshipped as a goddess of generation and fertility; a divinity whose strongly ac-

"For '*Papades*,' see Heuzey, *Figurines Antiques*, pl. 17, figs. 1-3; Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, pl. I. fig. 1; *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 156.

centuated vulva, broad hips, and swelling breasts characterized her as such with unmistakable clearness. From the middle of the second millennium B. C., which marks the beginning of the Mycenaean period, down to the archaic period (seventh century B. C.), this same type of divinity was still worshipped, with the only difference that the goddess was almost always draped; necklace and head-dress, however, were common not only to the prehistoric, but also to the Mycenaean and to the post-Mycenaean period. Sometimes the hands were laid on the abdomen, at other times they pressed the breasts or were outstretched. The latter gesture indicates, as we have seen, that the goddess is in the throes of childbirth. In some few cases, indeed, we found that she was actually represented as pregnant. Furthermore, in her capacity of divine nurse, or *Kourotrophos*, she appears with a child at her breast, or in her arms. Both types, with and without child, show a parallel development without a break, throughout these many centuries. This is important.

It was only one step in the development that the maternal deity, who had herself suffered all the pangs of child-bearing, should become the goddess who cares for the travail-pangs of women, and who assists them in the actual processes of birth. Since these were her functions, she was the protectress of all mothers. Again, it was only natural that the goddess who brought children into the world, would also be concerned with their bringing up, and so she was worshipped as *Kourotrophos*.

This same development can also be noticed in the mythology of the ancient Greeks. I need give only a few instances. Hera, in her capacity of child-bearing maternal deity, is the guardian spirit of women, especially in wedlock. Just as every man in the Roman world had his *genius*, so every Roman woman had her *Juno*. At a very early period of Greek mythology Hera was worshipped as a goddess of delivery, to whom women in travail directed their prayers. For that very reason the *Eileithyiai*, those goddesses who had no other function than that of assisting women

in parturition, were called daughters of Hera. Eileithyia's praises, as we shall see below, were sung in her old Delian Hymnos as a maternal goddess. The maternal side, however, soon sank into the background, and consequently we have literary evidence for only two localities in which Eileithyia was worshipped as a mother, namely, Delos and Thespiæ. At those places she was invoked as the mother of Eros (Pausanias, IX. 27, 2). In Olympia Eileithyia was closely connected with the youth Sosipolis; but whether the relation between the goddess and the youth at Olympia was the same as at Thespiæ and Delos, remains doubtful (see below, page 26, note 35). The primary conception of the goddess of childbirth as a mother leads to the opinion that she was also Kourōtrophos. The votive offerings dedicated to Eileithyia prove beyond doubt that she was worshipped not only as a goddess of delivery, but also as a tutelary divinity of children. We can trace the process of development of a maternal child-bearing divinity into a goddess of childbirth and Kourōtrophos, not only in the case of Hera and Eileithyia, but also in the legends of Helen (Pausanias, II. 22, 6) and of Auge (Paus. VIII. 48, 7), which we shall discuss later. Another good illustration of this point is found in the legend of Damia and Auxesia, who were represented in their cult-statues as kneeling, a position adopted by the ancient Greek women in travail, because it facilitates the delivery. But more of this later.

Thus far we have considered the most primitive monuments and some of the early Greek myths and legends that bear on our subject. Let us now see whether the language of the Greeks will be of any assistance to us. The Greek expressions which have reference to sexual intercourse are taken from the world of plant-life. Metaphorically speaking, the father was the plower. The conventional formula in Athenian marriage contracts reads thus: *ἐπὶ παίδων γνησίῳ ἀρότῃ*. According to Plutarch, three sacred plowings were celebrated, *ἀροτοὶ ἱεροί, τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπóρος καὶ ἀροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει*.¹⁴ Other

interesting examples of this kind have been carefully collected by Professors Preller and Mannhardt.¹⁴ We learn from these metaphorical phrases that the deities of vegetation and plant-life stand in very close proximity to the birth, growth, and increase of man. So close is the affinity between divinities of generation and of vegetation, that in some special cases we cannot ascertain which is the primary and which the secondary form. We do not, for instance, know whether Demeter and Kore, Damia and Auxesia were originally goddesses of growth and vegetation, and only secondarily, in a later phase of their development, worshipped as goddesses of generation, or whether just the opposite was the case. The ithyphallic Hermes, a god of fertility in plant-life, comes under the same head. It is noteworthy that the goddess of childbirth *par excellence*, Eileithyia, was never held to be a goddess of vegetation, nor of the breeding of domestic animals. For that very reason, however, I believe that she is a late appearance in the circle of Greek divinities.

It is extremely difficult, as we have seen, to distinguish the primary from the secondary divinities of generation, and in some cases it is impossible, because we have only subjective ideas concerning the very beginnings of a religious belief, and the original nature of divine personalities. Damia and Auxesia, for example, are considered goddesses of vegetation in historical times, but they show traces of diverse changes (see below, pages 34 sq.).

And yet another class of divine beings is firmly established as secondary gods of fertility in women; I refer to the deities and demons closely connected with the winds. For in the imagination of all agricultural tribes the winds were held to be spirits that fructify the earth.¹⁵ In addition to promoting growth and vege-

¹⁴ Plutarch, *Praec. conjug.* 42. Cp. Preller, *Demeter und Persephone*, p. 354 and note 61; and especially Mannhardt, *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 352.

¹⁵ See Roscher, *Hermes der Windgott*, pp. 71 sqq.; *id.*, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. 2, pp. 2376 sqq., pp. 2360 sqq.; Mannhardt, *Myth. Forschungen*, p. 296.

tation the winds were thought to render the herds productive. It was only a small step farther in the evolution of the wind-gods to attribute to them the power of promoting fertility in human beings. In this subordinate sense Hermes, the wind-god, is a secondary god of childbirth. Similarly the Boreadai and Tritopatores may also become secondary gods of birth. The Tritopatores, Amalkides, Protokles, and Protokreon were the door-keepers and guards of the winds, according to the Orphic *Physika*. Demon, the author of an *Atthis*, tells us that they were winds themselves. Phanodemos reports that only the Athenians had the custom of praying before the wedding ceremony to the Tritopatores for offspring, ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παιδων.¹⁶ As secondary birth-deities we must also reckon, among others, the Erinyes, Eumenides, and Nymphs, because they could guard against barrenness. In this group belong furthermore all such divinities and demons as are only occasionally concerned with those processes which further the increase of mankind.

Let us once more briefly sum up the results reached by these general introductory remarks. The oldest extant maternal idols prove that in the second millennium B. C.—perhaps even earlier—a cult or system of religious worship of a birth-goddess flourished in Greece. This is also verified by some of the oldest Greek legends. Metaphorical phraseology taken from agriculture was used in connection with topics which bear on procreation. This proves that the protecting deities of husbandry and of cattle were so closely interwoven with the guardian spirits of childbirth that the two classes of divinities cannot, as a rule, be distinguished; their symbols and features not being distinct. In other words, those divinities whose function it is to fructify the earth can also guard against sterility in the human race. Such gods may be designated as secondary deities of childbirth. Primary deities of childbirth, moreover, are those maternal child-

¹⁶ Suidas, s. v. *τρειπόδροποι*. Cp. also Kern, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopædie d. classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, II. pp. 1215 sqq.

bearing goddesses who are especially concerned with the affairs of generation, with the actual processes of birth, and with the rearing of children; in other words, they are divine midwives and nurses. They too may become goddesses of fertility of the soil and of the animal world. These reflections would necessarily form the starting point for any detailed study of the nature of the gods of birth. Such a study, which is, however, beyond the scope of this paper, would lead to the conclusion that primary deities of childbirth are extremely rare, whereas those who were only occasionally worshipped as divinities of generation because of their power to fertilize the fields and the flocks, are innumerable. The purpose of this paper is to deal especially with the nature, the functions, and the cult of Eileithyia, but it will be necessary to make occasional mention of her companions for the sake of comparison.

It will, no doubt, be most appropriate to make a topographical classification of the cult localities of Eileithyia, and in connection with each sanctuary to mention the literary evidence, and also the inscriptions and other finds that bear upon the subject. Only then shall we be able to obtain a clear picture of the nature and the importance of our goddess Eileithyia.

CHAPTER II

SANCTUARIES OF EILEITHYIA

ATHENS

Paus. I. 18, 5. πλησίον δὲ ὑποδόμητο ναὸς Εἰλειθυίας, ἣν ἐλθοῦσαν ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων· ἐς Δῆλον γενέσθαι βοηθὸν ταῖς Αἰγυῖσι ὠδίσι, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν φασὶ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας μαθεῖν τὸ ὄνομα· καὶ θύουσί τε Εἰλειθυίᾳ Δῆλιοι καὶ ὕμνον ᾄδουσιν Ὀλῆνος. Κρήτες δὲ χώρας τῆς Κνωσίας ἐν Ἀμνισφί γενέσθαι νομίζουσιν Εἰλείθυιαν καὶ παῖδα Ἦρας εἶναι. μόνοις δὲ Ἀθηναίοις τῆς Εἰλειθυίας κεκάλυπται τὰ ξόανα ἐς ἄκρους τοὺς πόδας, τὰ μὲν δὴ δύο εἶναι Κρητικὰ καὶ Φαίδρας ἀναθήματα ἔλεγον αἱ γυναῖκες, τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον Ἐρυσίχθονα ἐκ Δήλου κομίσαι. —

Isaios, V. 39. τὴν δὲ μητέρα [τὴν] αὐτοῦ καθημένην ἐν τῇ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερῇ πάντες ἑώρων, καὶ τούτῃ ἐγκαλοῦσαν ἃ ἐγὼ αἰσχύνομαι λέγειν, οὗτος δὲ ποιῶν οὐκ ἡσχύνετο. —

C. I. A. II. 3, 1586. Base of an ex voto found near the Metropolitan church.

Ἐπὶ [ιερε]ίας Πα — — ης Χη . . ὡν Τίμωνος Σου[ν]ιεὺς τὴν θυγατέρα ἀνέθηκεν Χρυσίππην Εἰλυθείᾳ. —

C. I. A. III. 1, 925. [Τὴν δέινα] ἢ μή[τηρ, ἢ δέινα τοῦ δέινος . . .] ὡς θυγάτηρ, Ἀντιόχο(υ γυν)ῇ | [Φ]αληρέως, Εἰλυθείᾳ. —

C. I. A. III. 1, 926. Ἰούλιος Ὀπτά[τος] | τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγα[τέρα] | [Ἰου]λίαν Ρουφίαν Ἰλυθείᾳ | χαριστήριον | [ἐπὶ] ἱερίᾳ Ἰσιδώρας τ[ῆς . . .]. —

C. I. A. III. 836a. Found in the Asklepieion.

Πῶλ[λα (?)]

τηρ Πόπλιω[ν] . ε

ἰδὼν Βάσσον τὸν [ἑαυτῆς . . . ε]

δοῦν Εἰλυθεί[ᾳ ἀνέθηκεν].

AGRAI

Bekker, *Anecdota*, p. 326, 30 Ἀγραι Κλείδημος ἐν πρώτῳ Ἀτ-
θίδος· τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄνω τὰ τοῦ Ἴλισσοῦ πρὸς Ἀγραι Εἰληθυῖα.¹⁷

C. I. A. II. 3, 1590. On the shaft of a votive column: Ἰλειθυῖαι
| Φιλουμένη | Ἀμφιμάχου | γυνὴ ἀνέθηκε | ἐπ' Ἀρχεβίας | ἱερείας.
On the abacus: Εὐκολίνη. It was found at the Ilissos. Cp. Furt-
wängler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, III. 1878, p. 197.
At the same place were found some statues of girls, votive offer-
ings to Eileithyia Eukoline (see below, page 50).

C. I. A. III. 1, 319. Inscription on a seat in the theater:
ἱεροφόροις β' Εἰληθυῖα[ς] ἐν Ἀγραι[ς].

IN THE MESOGAIA

Keil, in Vischer's *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechen-
land*, p. 68, and *id.*, in the *Philologus*, XXIII. p. 619 sq. ὄρος τ | εμ-
έν[ο] | vs Ἡρ[ας] | Ε[ἰ]λε[ι]θ[υ]ίας[ς].

MARATHON

Lolling, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, X. 1885, p. 279, re-
ports (I translate): "Built into the large well in the yard of a
certain Mr. Rabanis, who lives near the Sorós, are two fragments
of an altar made of Pentelic marble, the upper border of which
was decorated with rosettes. On one of these fragments is in-
scribed Ἀρτέμιδος, on the other Εἰληθυῶν." . . . The assim-
ilation of Eileithyia to Artemis is especially common in Boeotia.

As we have just seen, we have four Eileithyia-sanctuaries in
Attica. The temple of Eileithyia at Athens must have been sit-
uated, according to the description given by Pausanias, northeast
of the Akropolis, in the lower part of the city, not far from the

¹⁷ This passage is very corrupt. The manuscript reads πρὸς ἀγορὰν;
but there can be no doubt that Wachsmuth's correction πρὸς Ἀγραι stands
the test. Cp. Wachsmuth in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encycl.* I. pp. 887 sq.

sanctuary of Serapis, of which Pausanias speaks just prior to his discussion of Eileithyia. Immediately afterwards he makes mention of the colossal temple of Olympian Zeus. As a further confirmation for the site of the temple of Eileithyia the above-mentioned base of the statue of a certain woman, Chrysippe, which had been dedicated by her father to Eileithyia, is of importance, for it was found near the Metropolitan church.

In this temple stood three wooden images, old cult-statues of Eileithyia. As a rule, each temple had but one image; why, then, were three sacred images worshipped here? The Athenians no doubt believed in a multiplicity of Eileithyiai, and so made sacrifices to several images. These archaic cult-statues were draped to the tips of the feet with, as we may well suppose, most costly veils and garments, gifts of thankful mothers after safe delivery. Pausanias asserts that this custom of draping the images of Eileithyia prevailed only among the Athenians, but when he made that statement he had not yet visited Aigion, where he saw, as he tells us, a wooden image of Eileithyia draped from head to foot in a robe of fine texture.

From the conflicting legends concerning the birthplace of Eileithyia we learn that the Greeks were not agreed upon her original home. According to the Delian story Eileithyia came from the land of the Hyperboreans to Delos to help Leto at the birth of Apollo and Artemis. The land of the Hyperboreans is situated where the sun rises, and was identified by the Greeks with Lycia, the land of light.¹¹ Since Eileithyia came from the land of light she must, of course, have been held by the Delians to be a goddess of light. The Delians even went so far as to assert that from their island as a center the Eileithyia-worship spread over the whole world.

Furthermore, Olen, the mythical author of the Delian *Hymn to Eileithyia*, was thought to be a Lycian, that is to say, a Hyper-

¹¹ On the Hyperboreans, see Crusius, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. 2, p. 2818; see also Usener, *Götternamen*, pp. 202 sq.

borean. The little we know concerning the contents of this old Hymn, we owe to Pausanias. Therefrom we learn that Eileithyia was older than Kronos, that she bore the epithet *εὐλινος*, 'the well-spinning one,' from which we may safely infer that she was thought to be a goddess of destiny (Pausanias, VIII. 21, 3), and furthermore, that she passed for the mother of Eros (Paus. IX. 27, 2). This much we learn from the Delian legend about the early history and the character of Eileithyia.

On the other hand, however, an entirely different legend was told by the Cretans regarding the genealogy and original home of Eileithyia. According to their legend Eileithyia, the goddess of childbirth, was born of Hera at Amnisos in the land of Knossos. Also in the Homeric *Hymn to Delian Apollo* Eileithyia was believed to be the daughter of Hera. This fact indicates that the Cretan myth had slightly influenced the Delian version. No doubt the Cretan was the older version of the two. The Homeric Epos takes only the Cretan legend into consideration. For instance, in the *Iliad*, XI. 270 the Eileithyiai—note that they are mentioned in the plural—are the daughters of Hera, and in the *Odyssey*, XIX. 188 mention is made of the grotto of Eileithyia at Amnisos.

In Athens, however, both versions were accepted, and so the women worshipped in one and the same temple the Delian Eileithyia, whose original home was in the land of the Hyperboreans, and the Cretan Eileithyiai. The former was worshipped in one statue, the latter in two. The Athenian women judged the Delian image to be older than the two from Crete, but it does not therefore necessarily follow that the Delian legend is older than the Cretan.

The second Attic sanctuary of Eileithyia in the suburb of Agrai was not mentioned by Pausanias. Its site can, however, be determined by the above-mentioned votive column, which was found on the left side of the Ilissos, above the spring Kallirrhoë. The inscription on this column informs us that a certain woman, Philoumene, wife of Amphimachos, dedicated an

ex voto to Eileithyia, which was doubtless set up in her sanctuary in Agrai. On the abacus of this column is inscribed the word 'Eukoline,' as an epithet of Eileithyia, as Professor Furtwängler rightly infers. Eukoline is likewise known as an epithet of Hekate (Kallimachos-*Fragm.* 82d). Professor Crusius called my attention to the fact that Eukoline is an euphemistic appeasing name for the goddess who was supposed to send the pangs of childbirth.²¹ Hekate in her capacity of moon-goddess, is, like all other lunar divinities, a goddess of childbirth, and as such also Kourotophos.²² Genetyllis, to cite only one of the many examples, has qualities quite parallel to those of Hekate.²³ But have we any evidence that Eileithyia was also considered a moon-goddess, beyond that of bearing an epithet common to Hekate? This question can be answered in the affirmative on the strength of a passage of Sokrates, the Argive Periegetes, from which passage we may infer that Eilionia Eileithyia was worshipped as a moon-goddess, because dogs were sacrificed to her.²⁴

In the service of Eileithyia at Agrai were two Errhephoroi or Hersephoroi, as priestesses, as we learn from the above-mentioned inscription on one of the seats reserved for priests in the theater of Dionysos. A similar inscription (*C. I. A.* III. 318) reports that also Ge Themis was served by two Errhephoroi. Furthermore, two Errhephoroi performed a mysterious rite in connection with the cult of Athena Polias on the Akropolis.²⁵

²¹ See Crusius, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. 1, p. 1400.

²² See Usener, in *Rheinisches Museum*, N. F. XXIII. pp. 332 sqq.; Steuding, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. 2, p. 1892; Roscher, *ib.* II. 2, pp. 3187 sq.

²³ See Usener, *l. c.* p. 359; Hesychius, *s. v.* Γενετυλλίς.

²⁴ Usener, *l. c.* p. 336; Plutarch, *Quaest. Rom.* 52, 277 A quoted below p. 21. Cp. also Conze, *Reise auf Lesbos*, p. 41, pl. 16, 2: On the base is the following inscription, Θεῇ μεγάλῃ Ἀρτέμιδι θερμὴς τὴν κόνα Κλαύδιος Δουκιανὸς Ἀλαβάρδης ἀνέθηκεν. The bitch was probably offered to Artemis as a goddess of generation. For the opposite side of the question see Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II. p. 609.

²⁵ See Pausanias, I. 27, 3. Cp. Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*, I. pp. 210 sq.; and Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, pp. 107 sqq., p. 246 note 1, and pp. 509 sq.

In Athens an inscription was found, in which mention is made of an Errhephoros of Demeter and Kore (*C. I. A.* III. 919). Also in connection with the Epidauria of the great Eleusinian Mysteries (*C. I. A.* II. 1 add. 453 b) we hear of an Arrhephoros. The Arrhephoroi are, therefore, priestesses of divinities of vegetation and of generation. What their particular duty was, we are unable to say. The fact that Errhephoroi were also in the service of Eileithyia Eukoline in Agrai is another verification of the statement that the gods who aid the growth of the commonwealth are closely related to the gods of fruitfulness in plant life. It does not prove, however, that Eileithyia was a goddess of vegetation.

THESPIAI

Paus. IX. 27, 2. Ἐρῶτα δὲ ἄνθρωποι μὲν οἱ πολλοὶ νεώτατον θεῶν εἶναι καὶ Ἀφροδίτης παῖδα ἡγήνται. Δύκιος δὲ Ὀλὴν, ὃς καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους τοὺς ἀρχαιοτάτους ἐποίησεν Ἑλλήσιν, οὗτος ὁ Ὀλὴν ἐν Εἰλαιθυίας ὕμνῳ μητέρα Ἐρωτος τὴν Εἰλείθυιάν φησιν εἶναι. — Pausanias does not make a direct statement that Eileithyia has a sanctuary at Thespiiai. But we can infer from his statement that the god Eros, worshipped in a very ancient image or fetich, was the son of Eileithyia (Paus. IX. 27, 1), and not the son of Aphrodite. Now, since Eros was worshipped as the son of Eileithyia in Thespiiai, it is more than probable that his mother also had a sanctuary at that place. Eileithyia as mother is otherwise known only through the Kallimachos *Fragm. anon.* 340 (Schneider):
 . . . μητρὸς Ἐλειθυίης. —

In the Thespian votive inscriptions Eileithyia is not mentioned, although Artemis Eileithyia is spoken of twice.²⁴ *I. G. S.* I. 1871. [Φλασούα Δορ] | κυλὶς Ἀρτέμ[ιδι] | Εἰλειθυίῃ | τὸν ἴδιον υἱὸν] — Τ(ίτον) Φλάουιο[ν] | Λύσανδ[ρον]. —

²⁴ As to Artemis Eileithyia see Schreiber, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. pp. 572 sq.; and Wernicke, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie d. class. Alterthumswissenschaft*, II. pp. 1347, 1356, 1383.

ib. 1872 . . . καὶ [. | τὴν θ]υγατέρα Φιλίππη[ν | 'Α]ρτέμιδι
Εἰλειθυίᾳ.

ANTHEDON

I. G. S. I. 4174. Μάτρω[ν] Διονιούσιω[ς] | Εἰραῖδ[α] 'Αρτέμιδι |
[Εἰλ]ειθιούῃ. —

ib. 4175 ν[ε]ῖς Λο[ν]σιμάχῳ τὰς θου[γ]ατέρας Καραῖδα κῆ |
Μελανθίδα 'Αρτέμιδι Εἰλειθιούῃ —

ib. 4176. [. τῇ 'Α]ρτά[μιδι] τῇ [Εἰλ]ειθιούῃ].

CHAIRONEIA

I. G. S. I. 3385 . . . [τῇ 'Αρτ]άμιδι τῇ 'Ελιθιούῃ, —

ib. 3386 . . . ἱερὰν τῇ 'Αρτάμ[ι]δι τῇ Εἰλιθίῃ, *etc.*

ib. 3391 . . . δὲ | κ[ῆ] Σωσίχαν ἱερὰν τ[ῇ] 'Αρτάμ[ι]δι τῇ Εἰλειθιούῃ,
etc. —

ib. 3410 (*ex voto*). 'Αρτάμιδι Εἰλειθίῃ —

ib. 3411 (*ex voto*). 'Αρτάμιδι Εἰλειθίῃ —

ib. 3412 . . . , Πολιάρχης Κράτωνος ἀντίθῃσιν | τὴν ἰδίαν θεραπείαν
Καλλὼ ἱερὰν τῇ 'Αρτέμιδι Εἰλειθυίῃ, *etc.*

ib. 3413 . . . Ἰλ[ι] | θοῖῃ.

LEBADEIA

I. G. S. I. 3101. 'Αγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Αὐρ(ήλιος) Παρμένων καὶ ἡ γυνή
αὐτοῦ Αὐρ(ηλία) Εἰσιδότῃ | 'Αρτέμισιν πράγαις χαριστήριον. Dittenberger
reads Πρα[ε]γαίς. The 'Αρτέμιδες πράγαι = Εἰλείθυιαι.

ORCHOMENOS

I. G. S. I. 3214. 'Αντικράτεις 'Αρχιεῖος, Μίτα | 'Αρτάμιδι Εἰλειθυίῃ.

TANAGRA

I. G. S. I. 555. 'Αθανίκει, 'Αἴμνῳ | 'Αρτάμιδι Εἰλειθυίῃ.

THISBE

I. G. S. I. 2228 (Priestess). 'Αρτάμιδι Εἰ|λειθυίῃ.

MEGARA

Paus. I. 44, 2. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυῶν ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.

Καρινόν is altered by Sylburg so as to read Κάρνειον, because in Sparta Apollo Karneios was worshipped along with Eileithyia (Paus. III. 14, 6). Others conjecture that Karinos is a dialectical form of Karneios.²⁵ But Sylburg's emendation is not necessary, for Pausanias does not say in this passage that the fetich of Apollo Karinos stood in the sanctuary of the Eileithyiai.

Pausanias mentions here in Megara a sanctuary of "the Eileithyiai." We have already noticed that Eileithyia was worshipped in plurality at Athens, and that in Lebadeia Artemides πρᾶι = Eileithyiai are mentioned. Homer speaks of Eileithyia in the singular and the plural without discrimination.²⁶ Similarly the vase-painters, when they illustrate the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, represent sometimes one Eileithyia, sometimes several. In Pausanias we notice the same arbitrariness. This observation is of no small importance to further our knowledge of the nature of the goddess of childbirth. The same fluctuation is seen in the case of the Keres, Erinyes, and Moirai, the explanation of which Professor Crusius has given in a most excellent article.²⁷ Every person has not only a Moira and a Ker as a protecting spirit, or guardian angel, as we should say, but there is also an Eileithyia for every woman, and so the word is frequently used in the plural. Originally the Eileithyiai were the pangs or throes themselves, and consequently without any speci-

²⁵ See Wernicke, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encycl.* II. p. 54 and Frazer's *Pausanias*, Critical note, Vol. I. p. 567.

²⁶ The form *Eileithyia* is used in the *Iliad*, XVI. 187; XIX. 103; *Odyssey*, XIX. 188; and the form *Eileithyiai* in the *Iliad*, XI. 270; XIX. 119.

²⁷ See Crusius, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 1, pp. 1136 *sqq.*, and especially p. 1164.

fied number.* At every birth the Eileithyiai must be present, if they absented themselves the parturition could not take place. When Hera holds back the Eileithyiai, i. e., the throes, as she did in the case of Leto and of Alkmene, the delivery is thereby made impossible.

CORINTH

Paus. II. 5, 4. ἐκ δὲ τοῦ Ἀκροκορίνθου τραπέσει τὴν ὀρεινήν πύλην τέ ἐστιν ἡ Τενατική καὶ Εἰληθυίας ἱερόν.—

On a bronze statuette: Ἀριστομάχα ἀνέθεκε τῇ Ἐλευθία. (See below, pages 38 sqq.) This statuette of Eileithyia is most probably an accurate copy of the cult-image in the temple of that goddess at Corinth. As an attribute she holds a flower.

ARGOS

Paus. II. 18, 3. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἐπὶ πύλιν ἤξεις καλουμένην ἀπὸ τοῦ πλησίον ἱεροῦ· τὸ δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν Εἰληθυίας.—

Paus. II. 22, 6 sq. πλησίον δὲ τῶν Ἀνάκτων Εἰληθυίας ἐστὶν ἱερόν ἀνάθημα Ἑλένης, ὅτε σὺν Πειρίθῳ Θησέως ἀπελθόντος εἰς Θεσπρωτοὺς Ἀφιδνά τε ὑπὸ Διοσκοῦρων ἐάλω καὶ ἤγετο εἰς Λακεδαίμονα Ἑλένη· ἔχειν μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν λέγουσιν ἐν γαστρὶ, τεκοῦσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀργεὶ καὶ τῆς Εἰληθυίας ἰδρυσαμένην τὸ ἱερόν, τὴν μὲν παῖδα ἦν ἔτεκε Κλυταιμνήστρα δοῦναι, συνοικεῖν γὰρ ἤδη Κλυταιμνήστραν Ἀγαμέμνονι, αὐτὴν δὲ ὕστερον τούτων Μενελάῳ γήμασθαι. καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε Εὐφορίων Χαλκιδεὺς καὶ Πλευρώκιος Ἀλέξανδρος ἔπη ποιήσαντες, πρότερον δὲ ἔτι Στησίχορος ὁ Ἰμεραῖος, κατὰ ταῦτά φασιν Ἀργείοις Θησέως εἶναι θυγατέρα Ἰφιγένειαν. Τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τῆς Εἰληθυίας πέραν ἐστὶν Ἑκάτης ναός.—

Sokrates, fr. 6 = Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 52 p. 277 A: Ἀργείους δὲ Σωκράτης φησὶ τῇ Εἰλιονείᾳ κύνα θύειν διὰ τὴν βασιάνην τῆς λοχείας.—

Hesychius, s. v. Εἰλείθια· Ἦρα ἐν Ἀργεὶ.

On Argive coins: Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Numismatic Commentary on Pausanias*, p. 39 with pl. K 40; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II. p. 609 with Coin pl. B. 51.

* See Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 299.

There were in Argos, according to the passages of Pausanias just quoted, two sanctuaries of Eileithyia, the one at the gate named after that goddess, the other near the temple of the Dioscuri. The second sanctuary belonged originally to Helena, also a goddess of childbirth. She and Iphigeneia, two pre-eminent moon-goddesses of great age, were entreated here for easy delivery. In my introductory remarks in the first chapter, attention was called to the fact that the divinities of childbirth were first considered maternal goddesses, who had themselves suffered all the pains of childbearing. Thus, for instance, Eileithyia in Thespiæ was worshipped as the mother of Eros, and Helena in Argos as the mother of Iphigeneia. Like Hekate, Helena was also Kourotraphos. Herodotos tells us an interesting story of a nurse who daily carried an ugly child to the sanctuary of Helena at Therapne near Sparta, and how that child grew up to be the most beautiful woman in all Sparta, because Helena had stroked her head.* Pausanias, without much ado, calls Helena's old sanctuary that of Eileithyia. It is interesting to follow the process how one divinity gradually takes the place of another; in Athens, Asklepios finally pushed Amynos to the wall, and here in Argos, Eileithyia supplanted Helena. This process is possible only when the divinities concerned are of similar nature; in the case of Amynos and Asklepios, because both were gods of healing; in the case of Helena and Eileithyia, because both were lunar goddesses of childbirth. We have already noted how closely Eileithyia Eukoline was related to Hekate and other moon-goddesses. The dog is a fitting sacrifice to such divinities, and was consequently offered to Eileithyia in Argos for an easy delivery.

Hera in Argos was likewise considered an Eileithyia, that

* See Herodotos, VI. 61 *sq.*; Pausanias, III. 7, 7. Cp. Rohde, *Psyche*, p. 196. Especially noteworthy in this connection is the *healing hand* of Helena. That Helena had the power to make hideous children beautiful was believed in historic times, for the woman about whom Herodotos tells this story was the third wife of Ariston and mother of Damaratos, King of Lacedaemon.

is, a goddess of childbirth,²⁰ as we are told (Hesych. s. v. Εἰλειθνία). The highly archaic terra-cotta ex votos found in the Argive Heraion have proved this without doubt. (See above, page 7.)

On the above-mentioned Argive coins are represented two Eileithyiai with quivers on their backs. In their hands they hold torches, the one raised, the other lowered; between both goddesses there stands an altar. These quiver-bearing Eileithyiai remind one of the Boeotian Artemides. Arrows are suitable attributes for Eileithyia, because the labor-pains burn like the wounds caused by such weapons.

HERMIONE

Paus. II. 35, 11. Πρὸς δὲ τῇ πύλῃ καθ' ἣν ὁδὸς εὐθείά ἐστιν ἀγούσα ἐπὶ Μάσσητα, Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν ἐντὸς τοῦ τείχους ἱερόν. ἄλλως μὲν δὴ κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην καὶ θυσιάς καὶ θυμιάμασι μεγάλως τὴν θεὸν ἱλάσκονται, καὶ ἀναθήματα δίδονται πλείστα τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐδενί, πλὴν εἰ μὴ ἄρα ταῖς ἱερείαις, ἐστὶν ἰδεῖν. —

C. I. G. 1554 = Le Bas-Foucart, 159^d: Ἀτρ. Ἀμαραντὸς καὶ Ιοῦλ. Ἰωτάπη τὴν ἐαυτῶν θυγατέρα Ἰωτάπην θεᾷ Εἰλειθυίᾳ ἀνέστησαν. In the *Corpus* this inscription is by mistake reported to have been found in Achaia.

It is noteworthy that in Hermione, Argos, Corinth, and Megara the sanctuaries of Eileithyia were situated near one of the city gates. In Paros the grotto of Eileithyia, newly discovered by Dr. Rubensohn, lay far beyond the limits of the town. This may be due to the fact that birth as well as death was considered to be unclean. To this we shall refer later.

It is not quite clear why only the priestesses had access to the cult-image of Eileithyia in Hermione; why, in other words, this shrine should be of such special sanctity. Here she was conceived by the people as an austere deity who could only be propitiated with gifts; wherefore they made sacrifices and burned

²⁰ On the whole subject of Hera as divine mid-wife, see Roscher, in Roscher's *Lex.* I. 2, pp. 2089 sqq.

incense to her on a great scale every day. After successful parturition all sorts of votive offerings (*ἀναθήματα*) were presented to the deity. These votive offerings were doubtless such as we shall discuss in the third chapter of this paper. From Pausanias's description we learn with what earnestness and sincerity the cult of Eileithyia was practised. Indeed, we are told by Plato²² that according to his way of thinking a board of superintending matrons should assemble for the third part of an hour every day in the temple of Eileithyia to watch the conduct of newly-married couples.

SPARTA

Paus. III. 14, 6. προσελθόντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δρόμου Διοσκοίων ἱερὸν καὶ Χαρίτων, τὸ δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλωνός τε Καρνείου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Ἡγεμόνης. —

Paus. III. 17, 1. Οὐ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Ὀρθίας ἐστὶν Εἰλειθυίας ἱερὸν οἰκοδομησάσι δὲ φασιν αὐτὸ καὶ Εἰλείθυιαν νομίσαι θεὸν γενομένου σφίσι ἐκ Δελφῶν μαντεύματος. —

Ross, *Arch. Aufs.* II. 667 = Le Bas-Foucart 162 ε: Μαχανίδας ἀνέθηκε τῇ Ἑλευσίαι.

The Spartans worshipped together in one and the same sanctuary, Eileithyia, Apollo Karneios and Artemis Hegemone. *σύνναοι θεοί*, it must be remembered, need not necessarily possess the qualities of the god in whose temple they have been received as guests; but in the case in hand it seems that Apollo and Artemis were nevertheless worshipped along with Eileithyia because they were held to be divinities of childbirth. Apollo Karneios is the guardian deity of rams and of herds in general. Karneios²³ is a parallel appearance to Maleatas, the guardian deity of sheep. As agrarian divinities it was only a small matter that they should be transformed into divinities of generation of a secondary order

²² Plato, *De legg.* VI. 784.

²³ See Wide, in Roscher's *Lex.* II. 1, pp. 962 sq.; also Höfer, *ib.* p. 966.

and consequently brought into close connection with Eileithyia.²³ Artemis is sufficiently well known as a goddess of childbirth. Here she is indentified in her office of Kourotrophos with Hegemone, the 'Leader' of children.²⁴

HIPPOLA

Weil in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, I. p. 162, reports the discovery of a marble relief in the neighborhood of the ancient Hippola, in Lakonia, on which a woman is represented to the right, standing before a burning altar. Behind her are three children. Above is inscribed: Δαμα . . λης Ἐλευθίας ἀν(έ)θηκε.

MESSENE

Paus. IV. 31, 9. Πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Μεσσηνίους ναὸς καὶ ἀγάλμα λίθου. πλησίον δὲ Κουρήτων μέγαρον.

OLYMPIA

Paus. VI. 20, 2—5. Ἐν δὲ τοῖς πέρασιν τοῦ Κρονίου κατὰ τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον ἔστιν ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θησαυρῶν καὶ τοῦ ὄρους ἱερὸν Εἰλειθυίας, ἐν δὲ αὐτῷ Σωσίπολις Ἥλειος ἐπιχώριος δαίμων ἔχει τιμὰς. τὴν μὲν δὴ Εἰλείθυιαν ἐκονομάζοντες Ὀλυμπίαν, ἱερασομένην αἰροῦνται τῇ θεῇ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον· ἡ δὲ πρεσβύτες ἢ θεραπεύουσα τὸν Σωσίπολιν νόμῳ τε ἀγιστεύει τῷ Ἥλειῳ καὶ αὐτῇ, λουτρά τε ἐσφέρει τῷ θεῷ καὶ μάζας κατατίθῃσιν αὐτῷ μεμαγμένας μέλιτι. ἐν μὲν δὴ τῷ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ναοῦ, διπλοῦς γὰρ δὴ πεποίηται, τῆς τε Εἰλειθυίας βωμὸς καὶ ἔσοδος ἐς αὐτὸ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐντὸς ὁ Σωσίπολις ἔχει τιμὰς, καὶ ἐς αὐτὸ ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστι πλην τῇ θεραπευσίᾳ τὸν θεόν, ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον ἐφειλκυμένη ὕψος λευκόν. παρθένου

²³ Concerning Apollo as a rustic god of agriculture and of cattle-breeding, as also a protector of the youth, see Wernicke, in Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyclopaedie d. class. Alterthumswissenschaft*, II. pp. 9 sqq. On Apollo as a god of childbirth, see Maass, *Greifswalder Programm, De Aeschylī Supplicibus*, p. 13 and *id.*, in *Hermes*, XXV., 1890, p. 405 note 3.

²⁴ See Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 134, where Hegemone is compared with Abeona Adeona, Domiduca Interduca.

δὲ ἐν τῷ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ὑπομένουσai καὶ γυναῖκες ὕμνον ᾄδουσι. καθαγίζουσι δὲ καὶ θυμιάματα παντοῖα αὐτῷ, ἐπισπένδειν οὐ νομίζουσιν οἶνον. καὶ ὄρκος παρὰ τῷ Σωσιπώλιδι ἐπὶ μεγίστοις καθέστηκεν . . . σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ σέβεσθαι καὶ τὴν Εἰλείθυιαν ἐνόμισαν, ὅτι τὸν παῖδά σφισιν ἡ θεὸς αὕτη προήγαγεν ἐς ἀνθρώπους.— The text of Pausanias concerning the locality of the temple of Eileithyia is corrupt. Professor Robert has made a very plausible suggestion in the *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XVIII., p. 38, that after πρὸς τὴν ἄρκτον the words | τῆς Ἄλτews have fallen out.

Treu, in *Olympia*, Text-Band, III., p. 242, with pl. LIX., 10, reports that a statue of a boy playing with a goose, a votive offering to Eileithyia, was found west of the Heraion.

Professor Robert, in the *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XVIII., pages 37 *sqq.*, made an attempt to identify the Olympian temple of Eileithyia and Sosipolis with a small temple facing south, located between the Exedra of Herodes and the treasury of the Sicyonians. In two vital points, however, Professor Robert's temple does not agree with that of Eileithyia and Sosipolis. In the first place, it is not a double temple with an inner and an outer part, and in the second place, the altar is not in the front part of the temple, but outside of it. The sanctuary of Eileithyia and Sosipolis was doubtless west of the Heraion, there where the above-mentioned votive offering was found.¹⁵

¹⁵ Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II. p. 611 note a, suggests that the female head, inscribed Ὀλυμπία, on fourth-century coins of Elis (Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 356) is that of Εἰλειθυία Ὀλυμπία. There does not, however, seem to be sufficient evidence for this suggestion. I confess myself to be entirely at a loss concerning this mysterious Eileithyia and Sosipolis episode. Was Eileithyia Olympia originally invoked in hymns as the mother of the mysterious Sosipolis? Why were the two worshipped in one and the same temple? The local legend arose, it is clear, to explain the meaning of the name Sosipolis. I doubt whether Farnell's interpretation of this divinity as the Zeus-Dionysos of Crete in the form of a boy is correct (*ib.* p. 612). Because Sosipolis was identified with Zeus at Magnesia on the Maeander is not sufficient reason for accepting the same identification in Olympia, no more than we have a right to identify the *Heros Iatros* at Athens with the heroes of the same title elsewhere.

AIGION

Paus. VII. 23, 5—6. Αἰγιεῦσι δὲ Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν ἐστιν ἀρχαῖον, καὶ ἡ Εἰλείθυια ἐς ἄκρους ἐκ κεφαλῆς τοὺς πόδας ὑφάσματι κεκάλυπται λεπτῷ, ξάανον πλὴν προσώπου τε καὶ χειρῶν ἄκρων καὶ ποδῶν· ταῦτα δὲ τοῦ Πεντελῆσιου λίθου πεποιήται. καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾶδα. Εἰλειθυία δὲ εἰκάσαι τις ἂν εἶναι δᾶδας, ὅτι γυναιξὶν ἐν ἴσῳ καὶ πῦρ εἰσὶν αἱ ὠδίνες. ἔχοιεν δ' ἂν λόγον καὶ ἐπὶ τοιῷδε αἱ δᾶδες, ὅτι Εἰλείθυιά ἐστιν ἡ ἐς φῶς ἄγουσα τοὺς παῖδας. ἔργον δὲ τοῦ Μεσσηνίου Δαμοφώντός ἐστι τὸ ἄγαλμα. —

Coins from Aigion: Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *Num. Comm. on Paus.*, pages 83 sq. with pl. R. VI., VII.; Frazer, *Commentary on Paus.* IV., p. 161, fig. 20. These coins represent Eileithyia, draped from head to foot, with a torch in each hand, the one in her right raised, the one in her left lowered, similar to the illustrations of the Argive coins. R. VI. wears a polos on her head, and is clad in a Doric *peplos* and *apophytigma*. Her hair hangs loose down her back. On R. VII., a coin in Paris, Eileithyia wears a different head-dress, which reminds one of that worn by Eileithyia on the black-figured amphora in *Élite Cér.* I., 65 A, or *ib.* I. 57. Eileithyia on the coin R. VII. is an active figure rushing forward, whereas on R. VI. she stands as stiff as an idol. R. VII. would correspond more accurately to the style of Damophon, who flourished in the middle of the fourth century B. C., and who, as Pausanias tells us, made the acrolithic image of Eileithyia in her sanctuary at Aigion. The coins do not, however, agree with Pausanias's description of the image, for he mentions only one torch. Professors Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner would therefore introduce δᾶς after ἐκτέταται in Pausanias's text. Perhaps one of the torches, which were very likely of bronze, set in the hands, had been lost in Pausanias's day.

But what is the meaning of the torches? Pausanias gives two explanations, as follows: The torch is an emblem of Eileithyia, because the travail-pangs burn like fire. Not well satis-

fied with this explanation he offers a second. Eileithyia is the goddess who brings children to the light of day. Professor Usener²² asserts that Eileithyia carries the torch as attribute because she is a lunar goddess. The torch may refer to the purifying power of fire. It was indeed customary to burn incense in the house where a woman had given birth to a child, because she was considered unclean.²³ In this connection Professor Crusius called my attention to the old Roman custom of burning lights where a woman was brought to bed, for the purpose of frightening away the evil spirits. The comparison with the Roman Indiges Candelifera is instructive.²⁴

BURA

Paus. VII. 25, 9. Ναὸς ἐνταῦθα Δήμητρος, ὃ δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Διονύσου τέ ἐστι, καὶ ἄλλος Εἰλειθυίας. λίθον τοῦ Πεντελησίου τὰ ἀγάλματα, Ἀθηναίων δὲ ἔργα Εὐκλείδου· καὶ τῇ Δήμητρὶ ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς.

There is reason to believe that the cult-image of Eileithyia in her temple at Bura, a work of the Athenian, Euklides, who flourished in the first half of the fourth century B. C., was nude, for Pausanias seems to imply as much by the phrase: καὶ τῇ Δήμητρὶ ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς. Mr. Frazer, in his *Commentary* (IV., p. 170), compares this passage with another of Pausanias (II., 30, 1) where a nude statue is opposed to a draped one, by making use of the same phraseology: Ἀπόλλωνι μὲν δὴ ξάανον γυμνὸν ἐστι . . . τῇ δὲ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐστὶν ἐσθῆς. Mr. Farnell, in his *Cults of the Greek States*, II., p. 613, considers a nude Eileithyia an absurdity, because of her relationship to Hera, Artemis, the Moirai, and the

²² Usener, in *Rheinisches Museum*, XXIII. p. 333.

²³ Cp. the woman burning incense on the so-called Ludovisi-Throne: Wolters, in *Εφημερίς Ἀρχαιολογική*, X., 1892, p. 228.

²⁴ See Crusius, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. p. 850; cp. Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, II. p. 125 note 1. "So brennt in deutschen Bauernhäusern ein Licht neben der Wiege, bis das Kind getauft ist, damit die Unterirdischen, Zwerge, die Roggenmuhme u. s. w. es nicht abtauschen."

Tyche of the state, and also because Eileithyia appears on the coins of Bura in full attire.* These coins, however, refer more probably to Demeter, who is quite frequently figured as a standing draped goddess holding a torch. Until we have better evidence for denying the fact, I prefer to consider the cult statue of Eileithyia at Bura as undraped.

PELLENE

Paus. VII. 27, 8. Ἔστι δὲ καὶ Εἰλειθυίας Πελληγεύσιν ἱερόν· τοῦτο ἐν μοίρᾳ τῆς πόλεως τῇ ἐλάσσονί ἐστιν ἰδρυμένον.

KLEITOR

Paus. VIII. 21, 3. Κλειτορίοις δὲ ἱερὰ τὰ ἐπιφανέστατα Δῆμητρος, τὸ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τρίτον δέ ἐστιν Εἰλειθυίας *** εἶναι, καὶ ἀριθμὸν ἐποίησεν οὐδένα ἐπ' αὐτοῖς· Λύκιος δὲ Ὀλὴν ἀρχαιότερος τὴν ἡλικίαν, Δηλίοις ὕμνους καὶ ἄλλους ποιήσας καὶ ἐς Εἰλείθυιαν [τε], εὐλινὸν τε αὐτὴν ἀνακαλεῖ, δῆλον ὡς τῇ Πεπρωμένῃ τὴν αὐτὴν, καὶ Κρόνον πρεσβυτέρα φησὶν εἶναι.

We have above, on page 20, claimed Eileithyia as the protecting deity of women in general, and have assigned an Eileithyia to every woman just as every woman has her Moira. The Delian *Eileithyia-Hymnos* of the mythical bard Olen, which was also sung at Kleitor—for if this were not so, it would be difficult to explain why Pausanias mentions the hymn in this connection—speaks of the goddess as εὐλινος 'the spinner deft,' in other words as a Moira or goddess of destiny. She is in truth a dispenser of destiny, deciding whether it is the child's fate to be born dead or alive. Since this is her function, we cannot separate the two divine types, Eileithyia and Moira. Man's fate is decided at his birth, in the presence of the goddess of birth and the Moirai. Besides the old Delian Hymn we have other evidence, both liter-

* See Imhoof-Blumer and Gardner, *l. c.* p. 88 with pl. S 1.

ary and monumental, for this conception of Eileithyia as a goddess of destiny. Pindar (*Nem.* VII., 1) invokes Eileithyia as the goddess that 'sitteth beside' the Moirai, and he lets (*Ol.* VI., 41-42) the Moirai and Eileithyia assist Euadne in her labor-pains. On a black-figured vase (*Monum. dell' Instituto*, VI., 56, 2), illustrating the birth of Athena, we have besides two Eileithyiai perhaps also the Moirai present. They are at least exceedingly like the Moirai attested by an inscription on the François vase (*Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1888, pl. 2). The sculptor of the east pediment of the Parthenon, which represented the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, let Moirai take the place of Eileithyiai (see below, page 83). Again, Plato (*Symp.* 206 D) holds Eileithyia and Moira to be parallel figures: *Μοῖρα οὖν καὶ Εἰλείθυια ἡ Καλλόνη ἐστὶ τῇ γενέσει.*⁴⁰ Furthermore, Eileithyia and Moira are mentioned in an epigram (Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, No. 238) concerning a woman who died in child-bed. Nikanor (quoted by Antoninus Liberalis, *Transform.* 29) tells us that the Moirai and Eileithyia, by command of Hera, retarded Alkmene's delivery. And finally in the *Isyllos-Hymnos*⁴¹ Lachesis is treated as Eileithyia. But it is not only in Grecian mythology that the Fates are present at the birth. In Egypt too the idea was prevalent that the Hathors in their character as goddesses of destiny presided at the birth of a child.⁴² Even the Etruscans had the same conception, as is clear from an incised illustration on a bronze mirror. For, at the birth of Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus (Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, I., pl. 82) Thalna, the goddess of childbirth, is assisted by a winged goddess of destiny, Mean. On Roman reliefs depicting birth-scenes the Fates take

⁴⁰ See Usener, in *Rheinisches Museum*, XXIII. pp. 368 sqq.; cp. Tümpel, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 1, p. 936.

⁴¹ See v. Wilamowitz, in *Philologische Untersuchungen*, Heft IX. 1886, p. 13 line 18, and p. 15; also Kabbadias, *τὸ ἑρὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ* (Athens, 1900), p. 214 line 50.

⁴² See Erman, *Aegypten*, pp. 502 sq.

the place of Eileithyiai.⁴ Nor is it out of place to call attention in this connection on the one hand, to the sacrifice to the Moirai and Eileithyiai at the Roman secular games, and on the other, to the well-known passage in the *Carmen Saeculare*, where the Moirai are called upon immediately after Eileithyia.⁵ We have, indeed, ample proof that Eileithyia is a goddess of destiny and as such the protecting deity of women.

MEGALOPOLIS

Paus. VIII. 32, 4. τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ καὶ Εἰλειθυίᾳ πρόσσεστιν ἐξ ἐπῶν τῶν Ὀμήρου φήμη, τῷ μὲν Διὸς τε αὐτὸν διάκονον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἄϊδην ἄγειν τῶν ἀπογνομένων τὰς ψυχάς, Ἡρακλεῖ δὲ ὡς πολλούς τε καὶ χαλεπούς τελέσειεν ἄθλους· Εἰλειθυίᾳ δὲ ἐποίησεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι ὠδίνᾳ γυναικῶν μέλειν.

Pausanias says nothing of an Eileithyia sanctuary here in Megalopolis, but the passage is so abrupt and so entirely out of connection with what precedes that we are forced to believe that a phrase referring to sanctuaries of Hermes, Herakles, and Eileithyia has fallen out of the text. If Eileithyia had no temple at Megalopolis, what would otherwise have led Pausanias just at that particular place to refer to the passage in the Iliad where that goddess is represented as caring for women in travail? And yet the excavations made by the English at Megalopolis brought not the slightest trace of an Eileithyia-temple to light,

⁴ For Roman reliefs depicting scenes of childbirth, on which the Fates are represented, see Raoul-Rochette, *Monuments inédits*, I. pl. 77 no. 2: a fragment of a sarcophagus in the Vatican Museum; Matz-Duhn, II. 3087, etc.; cp. K. Wernicke, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 43, 1885, pp. 209 sqq. Perhaps also Millin, *Gal. Myth.* 53, 223=Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. Klassischen Altertums*, II. p. 1289; cp. Heydemann, 'Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit.' *Zehntes Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1885, pp. 15 sq.

⁵ See Mommsen, in *Ephemeris epigraphica*, VIII. p. 231 line 115; *ib.* pp. 258 sq. Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 13 sqq.

nor was there any inscription or ex voto found that might be attributed to her.*

TEGEA

Paus. VIII. 48, 7. Τὴν δὲ Εἰλείθυιαν οἱ Τεγεᾶται, καὶ γὰρ ταύτης ἔχουσιν ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ναὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα, ἐπονομάζουσιν Αὔγην ἐν γόνασι, λέγοντες ὡς Ναυπλίῃ παραδοίῃ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἄλεος ἐντειλόμενος ἐπανάγοντα αὐτὴν ἐς θάλασσαν καταποντῶσαι· τὴν δέ, ὡς ἦγετο, πεσεῖν τε ἐς γόνατα καὶ οὕτω τεκεῖν τὸν παῖδα ἐνθα τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἐστὶ τὸ ἱερόν. οὗτος ὁ λόγος διάφορος μὲν ἐστὶν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ, λάβρα τὴν Αὔγην τεκεῖν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐκτεθῆναι τὸν Τήλεφον λέγοντι ἐς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Παρθένιον, καὶ τῷ παιδί ἐκκειμένῳ δίδόναι γάλα ἔλαφον· λέγεται δὲ οὐδὲν ἥσσαν καὶ οὗτος ὑπὸ Τεγεατῶν ὁ λόγος.

From this myth we learn that Auge ἐν γόνασι was considered a primitive goddess of childbirth in Tegea, parallel to Helena in Argos, and that Eileithyia in a later period was identified with and finally supplanted her. Both being goddesses of light was sufficient reason for bringing them together. The goddess Auge was represented in her cult-statue as kneeling, that is, in the act of childbearing.* When we recall that in the primitive idols the divinity of childbirth was usually a childbearing maternal goddess, we have reason to look upon Auge as one of the earliest Greek local goddesses of childbirth. We cannot therefore accept Mr. Farnell's interpretation of Auge as being originally a form of Artemis.*

EUBOIA (?)

Artemis Βολοσία = Εἰλείθυια: Prokopios, *Bell. Goth.* 4, 22, inscription at Geraestum, Τύννιχος ἐποίει Ἀρτέμιδι Βολοσίᾳ· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν

* See *Excavations at Megalopolis* (Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies, Suppl. Papers, I.), London, 1892.

* See Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, III. pp. 185 sqq.; Marx, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, X. p. 177 sqq.; Wolters, in *Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, X. 1892, pp. 213 sqq.; Frazer, in his commentary on *Pausanias*, IV. pp. 436 sq. For the birth-scene of Telephos on the Pergamene Telephos-frieze, see Robert, in *Jahrb. d. arch. Instituts*, III. 1888, p. 55 fig. N; pp. 56 sq. For Farnell's theory on Auge, see his *Cults of the Greek States*, II. pp. 442 sq.

Ειλείθυιαν ἐν τοῖς ἀνω χρόνοις ἐκάλουν. (This passage I have taken from Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II., p. 568, note 41^r, without being in a position to verify it.)

DELOS

Herodotos, IV. 35. φασὶ δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὀπιν ἰούσας παρθένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τούτους ἀνθρώπους πορευομένας ἀπικέσθαι ἐς Δῆλον ἔτι πρότερον Ὑπερόχης τε καὶ Λαοδίκης. ταύτας μὲν νυν τῇ Εἰλειθυίᾳ ἀποφερούσας ἀντὶ τοῦ ὠκυτόκου τὸν ἐτάξαντο φόρον ἀπικέσθαι, τὴν δὲ Ἄργην τε καὶ τὴν Ὀπιν ἅμα αὐτοῖσι τοῖσι θεοῖσι ἀπικέσθαι λέγουσι καὶ σφι τιμὰς ἄλλας δεδόσθαι πρὸς σφέων·—

Paus. I. 18, 5 see above, page 13.

Concerning the Εἰλειθυαῖον at Delos, the site of which is not yet known, we have the following inscriptions:

Homolle, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, VI., 1882, p. 100. *ib.* p. 34 line 50 = Dittenberger, *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum*, 367:

φιάλη καρνωτή· Κτησυλῖς, Ἀριστολόχου θυγάτηρ, Πυθέου δὲ γυνή, Εἰλειθυίαι.

Bull. Corr. Hellen. XIV. 1890, p. 412, lines 114–120. Ἐν τῷ Εἰλειθυιαίῳ· βατια|κῇ ἐν πλινθείῳ, ἣν ἀνέθηκε Κλεαρχίς· φιάλη ἔκτυπα ἔχουσα Περσῶν πρόσωπα, Κτησυλῖος ἀνάθημα ὀλκὴν FΔΔ†. ἀμφιδαῖ καὶ τύποι καὶ | ὄφεις καὶ δακτύλιοι καὶ κριβαί, ἀργυρᾶ, ὀλκὴν FΔΔΔ†. πυρήνια χρυσᾶ καὶ ἐνδεσμίδες καὶ τύποι καὶ καρδία καὶ ἄλλα χρύσια, ὀλκὴν πάντων ΔFII. ἄλλα ζωιδάρια τέτταρα, ἐν αὐτῶν ξύλινον ἐπίχρυσον, καὶ δακτύλιοι δύο, ὁ εἰς λιθάριον ἔχων καὶ ἐνώτι(α) ὀλκὴν FHH. μῆλα ἐννεὰ ἐπάργυρα EΠ|, ὀλκὴν FHHI. ἐρωτίωγ καὶ βουβαλίωζ ζεύγος πρὸς ξύλῳ, Θεσσαλίας ἀνάθημα·

Καὶ τάδε ἀνετέθη ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀρχῆς εἰς τὸ Εἰλειθυιαῖον· | δακτυλίδιον χρυσοῦν, ἀνδριάντιον, τυπίον, χρυσᾶ· ὀλκὴ πάντων H. τυπίον ἀργυροῦν, ὀλκὴν H δακτυλίδιον διάλιθον ἐν ταινιδίῳ, Κερκίδος ἀν|άθημα.—

Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, III., p. 188, pl. I. Statuette of a kneeling woman, a votive offering to Eileithyia (?) (see below, p. 44).

PAROS

C. I. G. 2389. Φιλουμένη Σειληνῆς Εἰλειθυίῃ εὐχὴν.—

Wilhelm, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen.*, XXIII., 1898, p. 435. Ἐπικράτῃα Εἰλευ|θύῃ εὐχὴν (see below, p. 56).

For other votive offerings to Eileithyia from this grotto-sanctuary see pages 40, 51, and 52.

THERA

The Theran sanctuary of Eileithyia has not yet been found, although we have evidence that the goddess of birth had a temple at this place. See v. Hiller, *Thera*, I., p. 177. A decree dating from the time of Antoninus Pius mentions the Eileithyia-temple as the family possession of a certain T. Flavius Kleitosthenes Klaudianos. This great benefactor, to whom Thera was indebted for many other favors, allowed all citizens and strangers free admission to his private sanctuary of the birth-goddess. . . . α̃ δὲ καὶ τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίης ἱερὸν ἀλέκτῃ πολυ|τελείᾳ κατειργασμένον ἔργον πατρῶον ἀπαράφ[θ]ο|ρον πρὸς [ἀπ]ώλανσιν πο[λ]ι[τ]ῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐπιδημούν|των [ἐ]ν[ω]ν διαφυλάσσων, . . . (*I. G. I. fasc.* III. 326, lines 10 sqq.).—

For a votive offering to Eileithyia as Kourotraphos, found at Thera, see below, page 43.

Besides Eileithyia, quite a number of lesser divinities of childbirth were worshipped in Thera during the archaic period, as is seen from the inscriptions cut into the living rock. Some of the most important of these are Lochaia and Damia, Koures=Kourotraphos, the goddess Kale=Kallone and the Nymphs.⁴ The fact that Lochaia is here associated with Damia=Demeter, who in her turn was not infrequently mentioned in connection with Auxesia seems to point to an early conception of these divinities as being concerned with childbirth. This opinion gains weight when we recall that Damia and Auxesia were represented in their

cult-images at Epidauros on their knees, *i. e.*, in the act of child-bearing." The possibility is not, therefore, excluded that Lochaia, Damia=Damometer and Auxesia were primary gods of childbirth and only in a secondary way gods of increase and fertility connected with agriculture and the breeding of domestic animals.

ASTYPALAIA

I. G. I. fasc. III. 192. Εὐξαμένα μάνεθηκ|εν ὑπὲρ χάριος τόδ|ε ἄγαλμα
Ἀρχὼ Ἐλειθυίαι, ταῖ χάριν ἀντ|ιδίδο(ν).

AMNISOS

Od. XIX. 188 sqq. στήσε δ' ἐν Ἀμνισῷ, ὅθι τε σπείος Εἰλειθυίης,
ἐν λιμένει χαλεποῖσι, μόγις δ' ὑπάλυξεν ἄελλας. | αὐτίκα δ' Ἰδομενῆα
μετάλλα ἄστυ δ' ἀνελθών.

The situation of the Cretan grotto of Eileithyia outside the city is noteworthy. In Paros also, as has been mentioned above, Eileithyia's grotto was outside the town.

Pausanias, I., 18, 5, see above, page 13, for Amnisos in Crete as the birthplace of Eileithyia. Cp. also Diodoros, V., 72. Τοῦ δὲ Διὸς ἐκγόνους φασὶ (οἱ Κρήτες) γενέσθαι θεὰς μὲν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ Χάριτας, πρὸς δὲ ταύταις Εἰλειθυίαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης συνεργὸν Ἀρτεμιν.

^a See v. Hiller, *Thera*, I, pp. 149 sq. *I. G. I. fasc. III. 361*; Lochaia and Damia. For Δαμία = Δαμ<ομ>ήτηρ see Crusius, in *Philologus*, XLIX. p. 675. *I. G. I. fasc. III. 354-5* and 371: Koures alone; *ib.* 350: Koures associated with Zeus; in this connection, see Maass, *De Aeschyli Supplicibus*, pp. 13 and 38; *id.*, in *Hermes*, XXV. 1890, p. 405 note 3: Κουρήσι = Κουροτρόφος. *I. G. I. fasc. III. 380*: Kale; *ib.* 377, 378: Nymphs. That the Nymphs were considered goddesses of childbirth and had power over fruitfulness in marriage is evinced by a curious custom which is still practiced in Athens to-day. On the Hill of the Nymphs, namely, barren women slide down the rock in hopes that they will become fruitful. Cp. Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im Neuen*, p. 71. According to Euripides (*El.* 625 sq.) sacrifices were made to the Nymphs not only for the sake of offspring, but also after safe delivery. Cp. Maass, *De Aesch. Suppl.* pp. 17 and 37. On Damia and Auxesia, see Frazer's *Commentary to Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III. pp. 266 sqq.

Strabo, X. p. 476. Μίνω δέ φασιν ἐπινείφ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἀμνισῷ, ὅπου τὸ τῆς Εἰλειθυίας ἱερόν.

EINATOS

Stephanus Byzantius, s. v. Εἰνατος. πόλις Κρήτης, ὡς Ξενίων φησί. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Εἰνάτιος. τινὲς δὲ ὄρος καὶ ποταμός, ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶσθαι τὴν Εἰλειθυίαν Εἰνατίην. —

Kallimachos-*Fragm.* 168 Schneider: Εἰνατίην ὁμόδελφον (*Martís*) ἐπ' ᾧδίνεσσιν ἰδοῦσα.

LATO

Homolle, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, III., 1879, p. 293: A state document of the three towns, Knossos, Lato and Olus, which should be treasured by the inhabitants of Knossos in their sanctuary of Apollo, by those of Lato ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἐλευθυίας (ἱερῷ), and by those of Olus in their sanctuary of Zeus Tallaios.

TEOS

C. I. G. 3058 = Le Bas, 67 . . . ἀγγράφαι δὲ καὶ τὸ δόγμα ἐς τὸ ἱερόν τῆς Ἐλευθυίας.

SIDYMA, IN LYCIA

Benndorf, *Reisen in Lykien*, pp. 75 sqq. A public record concerning the legendary history and cult of Sidyma, p. 77 No. 53, Da. lines 7 sqq.:

οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ θεῶν | καὶ κτιστῶν αὐτοχθόνων οὔσης | ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἡμεῖν πρὸς
 Ξιδυμεῖς | ὡς τέκνων πρὸς γονεῖς ἀδιαλείπτου ἐν παντὶ καιρῷ ἐνόη|τος
 καὶ ὁμονομίας μέχρι νῦν τετη|ρημένης καὶ ἐπιγαμίαις, παρθέ|νων σεμνὰς
 νεοκορείας τῆς | ἀγνωστότης καὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς Ἀρτέ|μιδος τε [καὶ] Εἰληθυῶν,
 ἣ πρόσθεν | ἠροῦντο γυν[αῖ]κες ἱέρεια[ι,] | ὕστερον δὲ κατ' ἐπισζήτη[σιν]|
 καὶ θεολογίαν μέχρι καὶ νῦν πα[ρ]|θέναι, . . .

ITALY

Mommsen, in *Ephemeris epigraphica*, VIII., p. 231, line 115:
a sacrifice: deis [I] lithyis libeis VIII popan [is] VIII pthōi-
bus VIII . . . —

Horace, *Carmen Saeculare*, 13 sqq.: “

Rite maturos aperire partus
Lenis, Ilithyia, tuere matres
Sive tu Lucina probas vocari
Seu Genitalis.
Diva, producas subolem patrumque
Prosperes decreta super jugandis
Feminis.

PYRGOI

Strab. V. 226. ἔχει δὲ Εἰληθυίας ἱερόν, Πελασγῶν Ἰδρυμα, πλούσιόν ποτε γενόμενον· ἐσύλησε δ' αὐτὸ Διονύσιος ὁ τῶν Σικελιωτῶν τύραννος κατὰ τὸν πλοῦν τὸν ἐπὶ Κύρον. The mistress of this sanctuary is however Mater Matuta and not Leukothea or Eileithyia.*

HERAKLEOPOLIS (EGYPT)

Aelian. *Nat. anim.* X. 47. λέγονται δὲ οἱ ἰχνεύμονες ἱεροὶ εἶναι Αἰητοῦ καὶ Εἰλειθυῶν· σέβουσι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἡρακλεοπολίται, ὥς φασιν.

EILEITHYIASPOLIS

Strab. XVII. 817. εἴτε Εἰλειθυίας πόλις καὶ ἱερόν.—Steph. Byz. Εἰληθυίας, πόλις Αἰγυπτιακή. τὸ ἔθνικὸν Εἰληθυιοπολίτης.—Diodor. I. 12 τῆς γὰρ πάσης οἰκουμένης κατὰ μόνην τὴν Αἴγυπτον εἶναι πόλεις πολλὰς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν ἐκτισμένας, οἷον Διός, Ἥλιου, Ἑρμοῦ, Ἀπόλλωνος, Πανός, Εἰλειθυίας, ἄλλων πλειόνων.

* See Maass, *De Aeschyli Supplicibus*, pp. 35 sq.

* See Wissowa, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 2, pp. 2462 sqq.

CHAPTER III

VOTIVE OFFERINGS TO DEITIES OF CHILDBIRTH

Whatever is a source of pleasure to man is a suitable gift for the gods. Consequently it was proper to dedicate not only the image of the god whom one wished to honor, but also the likeness of the dedicator himself. Gifts of this kind were set up in the sanctuary of the god concerned for several reasons, but most commonly to appease the divinity. Not infrequently, however, were they dedicated in connection with some vow, after the deity had granted the wish of the votary. When, however, the image of the god was offered as an *ex voto*, it was customary to represent the divinity in the type of its cult-statue. Original cult-images are rare, but we can frequently form a fair idea of their appearance by means of the votive offerings which copy the type. It is hardly necessary to say that no real cult-image of Eileithyia has come down to us, and that in the case of the votive offerings, it is often difficult to decide whether the goddess is meant or the woman who made the dedication, unless attributes and accessories make the meaning clear.

In one case, however, there can be no doubt that Eileithyia herself is represented in imitation of her cult-statue. This is a bronze statuette belonging to the sixth century B. C., now in the British Museum.⁸⁰ It is doubly valuable to us because it bears an inscription, which, although we do not know where the statuette was found, throws light on its provenance. The goddess

⁸⁰See Walters, *Catalogue of Bronzes in Brit. Mus.* p. 16 with pl. II. no. 188; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II. p. 614 with pl. LIX; Gerhard, 'Ueber Venusidole,' *Kleine Schriften und Gesammelte Akademische Abhandlungen*, I. p. 265 with pl. 31 fig. 6.

stands erect with archaic stiffness, in a state of rest; the heels are close together, but the right foot is turned outward. The weight of her body is equally distributed on both feet, without the slightest indication that one of the legs might be bent at the knee. She wears sandals, and on the right one, which is in better state of preservation than the left, an incised design is visible. The goddess is clothed in the Doric *peplos* with a fold falling to her waist, but she does not wear a girdle, for there is no trace of a *kolpos*. The edge of the *apoptygma* and the lower seam of her garment are ornamented with an incised pattern of zigzag lines filled in with circles. She lifts her garment with her left hand in the customary archaic fashion. On her head she wears a remarkable *polos*. Her hair is parted in the middle, is taken up in back and held in position by a narrow fillet or *sphendone*. The expression of her face is stern, nay, even grumbling. Her breasts are more strongly accentuated than is customary on portrait-statues of this period. In her extended right hand she holds very daintily a calycine flower, in all probability as a symbol of fertility. The flower as attribute of a goddess of childbirth is not unknown. We find it, for example, on the archaic lime-stone reliefs found near Argos, which represent the Eumenides as deities of childbirth.²¹ In Sikyon also offerings of flowers, of honey mixed with water, and of sheep heavy with young, were made to the Eumenides and Moirai, doubtless in connection with the same cult.²² But to return to our statuette of Eileithyia. The inscription mentioned above is on the lower part of her garment, and runs from her feet to her waist. Since the drapery falls without folds, concealing the form of the body beneath, it offers a very suitable surface for the inscription, which reads as follows:

²¹ Milchhoefer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, IV. 1879, pp. 152 sq., 174 sqq. with pls. IX. X.

²² See Pausanias, II. 11, 4.

Ἀριστομάχα ἀν-
 ἔθηκε τῇ Ἐλευ-
 θία.

The form Eleuthia occurs on the above-mentioned votive relief from Hippola (see above, page 25). But our inscription cannot be Laconic, because of the form of $\chi = \chi$, whereas in Lakonia at this time—end of the sixth century B. C.—the letter χ is expressed by ψ . As far as I know there has been no attempt to classify this bronze statuette by making use of the peculiar shape of the letters in the inscription, although to my mind it can be done with absolute certainty. The letters agree exactly with those of Corinth, and so I do not hesitate to assign our statuette to the Corinthian School of Art. I have therefore above, on page 21, held this image to be a small copy of the cult-statue of Eileithyia in her temple at Corinth. But the results are even more far-reaching than this, for we now have a fair example of archaic Corinthian sculpture, of which up to the present so little was known. The closest analogy is found in the bronze figurines supporting mirrors on their heads, acknowledged to be of Corinthian workmanship.

Dr. Rubensohn is inclined to recognize an Eileithyia in a figure on a relief found during his recent excavations in the Eileithyia-grotto at Paros. We shall have occasion to mention this relief again (see below, page 80) because of the rays of light surrounding the head of the goddess. At the same grotto-sanctuary Dr. Rubensohn found a small marble figure, enthroned, and several terra-cottas of the same type, which are presumably copies of the Paros cult-image of Eileithyia. But it must be admitted that exactly the same type of enthroned female figure was found in the Delion at Paros. If these figures do not represent the dedicators themselves, which is quite possible, they may be interpreted on the one hand as Artemis or Leto, and on the other as Eileithyia. If Leto and Artemis were considered god-

desses of childbirth in the Delion, and were consequently represented in the type of Eileithyia, we would have another interesting illustration of how the type of one god can be transmitted to another deity of similar function. In the case of Asklepios and other lesser divinities of healing such a diffusion of type is not uncommon. Until, however, the Parian finds are published we shall not be able to reach final results concerning this point.²⁸

Of portrait-statues representing the dedicators themselves, set up in honor of Eileithyia, we have no known examples, although we have sufficient evidence through inscribed bases of statues of this sort, that they were quite common. Such votive offerings were made oftenest by women so as to have a speedy and easy delivery, being thus of a propitiatory nature. Quite frequently, however, they were dedicated by mothers after the birth of the child, in acknowledgment of their quick labors.

Since it is impossible to prove in every instance whether the votive offerings suitable to deities of childbirth were gifts to Eileithyia or not, I have decided to enumerate typical examples of all the *ex votos* of this sort. For even if they were not in reality offered to Eileithyia, they are at least gifts which might under other circumstances or at other places be appropriate presents for her. Wherever it is possible, I shall mention the divinity to whom the gift was made, and in this way we shall be able to include in the list of deities of childbirth some gods whose functions along these lines were hitherto unknown to us.

It is a popular motive to represent the goddess of childbirth as a divine nursing mother, a cherisher of children, or Kourotrophos as she was called by the Greeks. In this type she holds one, two, or sometimes even quite a number of children on her arm. When the figure holds only one child it represents, no doubt, very frequently a human mother with her offspring. It

²⁸ For a preliminary report on the excavations of the Eileithyia-sanctuary and of the Delion at Paros, see *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1900, pp. 19 sqq.

is impossible to distinguish the divine and human types unless the artist makes his meaning clear by attributes or other accessories. At Thisbe was found a terra-cotta group⁴⁴ representing a goddess as Kourotrophos with two children—they need not be twins, divine or human—on her left arm. Her breasts are exposed. In the Berlin Museum are similar terra-cottas and lime-stone groups found at Curti in Italy,⁴⁵ and in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (No. 338) I saw, among the terra-cottas, a seated Kourotrophos suckling a baby. On the back of the chair a swastika is incised. We shall no more attempt to assign a name to the Kourotrophos of Thisbe and of Curti than we did in connection with the pre-historic and archaic Kourotrophoi, because almost any goddess may serve in this capacity. Only when the

⁴⁴ See Marx, in *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, X. 1885, p. 91.

⁴⁵ See the Berlin catalogue, *Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen*, nos. 161-167. See also v. Duhn, in *Bullettino dell' Inst.* 1876, pp. 171-192; *ib.* 1878, pp. 13-32. Other literature on the finds at Curti is given by v. Duhn, *l. c.* 1876, p. 177 note 2.—Berl. Antiquarium, inv. no. 7143: a goddess with a *polos* on her head, and a child in her arm; no. 7144: a goddess nursing a child. Cp. Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 128.—Difficult to interpret is the reclining figure of a woman with a child at her breast, depicted, amongst other symbols intended to serve as a protection against the evil eye, on bronze votive hands (Jahn, 'Ueber den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks,' *Sächs. Ber.* 1855, p. 101 sq. with pl. IV. 2 a, b=Baumeister, *Denkmäler d. klass. Altertums*, I. p. 75 figs. 75a and 75b.). Perhaps the reclining female figure on these amulets represents some Kourotrophos under whose protection the child was placed at its birth. Jahn himself believed that bronze hands of this sort must be explained as votive offerings for successful delivery, and the same interpretation is given by Dilthey, in *Arch. Epig. Mittheil. aus Oesterreich*, II. p. 46. Cp. the deductions of Maass, *De Aeschylī Supplicibus*, concerning the healing of Io and the birth of Epaphos by means of the touch of Zeus's hand (see below p. 90 note 140). In the *British Museum Catalogue of Bronzes* under no. 875 a different interpretation is advanced, to the effect that perhaps Isis with Horus are represented in these figures, and that they are lying within a tumulus which is shown in section.—A similar type of a woman reclining entirely nude on a couch has been found in Naukratis. We have in these reclining figures no doubt childbirth dedications to Aphrodite, as Mr. Gutch (*British School Annual*, V. p. 82 nos. 49-56 with pl. 14 figs. 1-5) has suggested. See also *Naukratis*, I. p. 40 with pl. XIX. 7, 8 and 9. An example of this type can also be seen in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (Case 2 S.).

name of the precinct in which this type has been found is known, as, for instance, in the Argive Heraion, are we able to assign a name. Besides Hera we have evidence that Athena plays the part of divine nurse, as is clear from the Erichthonios legend, and from a statue in Berlin¹⁰ where she is represented as carrying the child Erichthonios in her aegis. Professor Hiller von Gaertingen informs me in a letter that during his most recent excavations at Thera he found a marble fragment of a woman carrying a child. The woman or the goddess (?) was draped only from her waist down. Professor Hiller von Gaertingen is of the opinion that the statue was originally set up in the Theran Eileithyia-sanctuary, the site of which has not yet been discovered.

Another suitable subject for dedication to divinities of child-birth is the very scene of the birth, modelled in marble, either as a group worked out in the round or in relief. In case the votary was of humbler means, the deity had to be content with a similar present in terra-cotta. A scene of a naked woman in labor is represented in a marble group of the sixth century B. C. found near Sparta.¹¹ This most valuable monument for the history of obstetrics is now in the museum at Sparta. A kneeling woman about to be delivered, is supported by two male demons of child-birth, one of whom is of actual assistance by giving her massage, while the other is holding his hands to his lips, doubtless a gesture of superstitious meaning unknown to us. Her complete nudity, her delicate condition, the kneeling posture, and the

¹⁰ See the Berlin catalogue; *Beschreibung der Antiken Skulpturen*, p. 37 no. 72. Cp. Reisch, in *Jahreshefte d. Oesterr. Inst.* I. p. 72 fig. 35 'Athena Kourotrophos 'mit der Ciste,' = Gardner, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 19, 1899, p. 7 fig. 2.

¹¹ See Marx, in *Mittheil d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, X. pp. 177 sqq. with pl. VI. Hoernes, *Urgeschichte*, p. 434 (fig. 133) discusses this group, but explains it differently: "Diese Frau kann wohl nur im mütterlichen Verhältniss zu den kleinen männlichen Gestalten stehen." But Hoernes stops in his interpretation just where the difficulty begins. If the male figures are her children, how can their attitude be explained, or why is the woman represented on her knees?

gestures of the male assisting demons, who may be compared with the *di nixi* of the Romans, have given Dr. Marx the correct clue for his interpretation. In the case of the marble statuette from Delos, representing a kneeling female figure (see above, page 33), there is room for doubt whether a human person in the act of being delivered is meant, or whether it might not just as well refer to the goddess of childbirth Leto or Eileithyia in the position of child-bearing. The question is discussed at length in the article of Professor Welcker cited above. Milchhoefer (*Mith. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, IV., p. 66), however, gives quite a different interpretation. We can, on the other hand, interpret with absolute certainty a kneeling female figure with both hands on her abdomen as a goddess of childbirth, because of her peculiar head-dress, which no human being would ever wear. The statue referred to is in the Louvre, and is illustrated in Clarac-Reinach, II.³ p. 682 fig. 1. Quite unique is a terra-cotta vase found in Vetulonia, moulded in the shape of a nude kneeling woman in the throes of childbirth pressing her hands convulsively to her breast. At the same place a fragment of a relief was found, which presumably represented a kneeling child-bearing woman. The gesture of the hands is the same as on the vase from Vetulonia.⁴ Under the same head must be classified a terra-cotta statuette found in Cyprus, which represents a pregnant woman, clothed, who holds her right hand on her abdomen, as though she were suffering pain.⁵ In Palestrina there was in Professor Gerhard's time a remarkable marble group, called by him Demeter

³ The vase is illustrated in the *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1894, p. 348 fig. 20; and the fragment of the relief, *ib.* 1893, p. 511 fig. 7. Perhaps the relief was not a votive offering, but a tombstone, erected over the grave of a woman who had died in child-bed. That grave-reliefs representing scenes taken from the last moments of women who had died in the throes of childbirth were not unknown, has been pointed out by Wolters, in *Εφημερίς αρχαιολογική*, X. 1892, p. 229 note 2.

⁵ See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, III. p. 201 fig. 143.

and Kore." He reports: "Beide stehen aufrecht, aber nur etwa bis an die Knie reichend, auf einem Gestell, dessen Seitenfläche mit einer Schlange verziert ist, während oberwärts neben jeder der beiden Figuren zwei Löwenköpfe, auffällig in Ermangelung sonstiger Symbole des phrygischen Dienstes, bemerklich sind. Die Köpfe beider Figuren fehlen." Professor Gerhard is wrong in saying that both figures stood upright, being modelled only to their knees, for there can be no doubt that the two goddesses are kneeling, whereby they can be identified as goddesses of childbirth. On both figures the hair hung loosely down the back, while a few separate locks hung in front over the breast, traces of which can still be seen. The snakes prove that we have chthonic divinities of childbirth in this group. They remind one of Damia and Auxesia, above all else." Professor Conze is right in recognizing the Phocæan Artemis as a goddess of childbirth in a figure found in Massilia. The goddess is standing upright, in a small *aedicula*, in the type of a woman in travail." This was doubtless a votive offering to Artemis for a speedy delivery. Concerning the reliefs of the so-called Ludovisi-Throne it is impossible to know their exact purpose and use, although Professor Wolters with great ingenuity has interpreted the figures correctly as a woman in travail assisted by midwives, divine or human." On the island of Cyprus a lime-stone group was found—it is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York—which represents a woman seated on a

* See Gerhard, *Antike Bildwerke*, III. 4 p. 47, and *id.*, *Abhandlungen*, II. pp. 390 sq., 551, with pl. 49, 1.

* See above p. 35 note 47.

* See Conze, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1866, p. 306 pl. B⁴. Among the terra-cottas of the British Museum I saw a similar figure from Naukratis, labelled C575.

* See Wolters, in *Εφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, X. 1892, pp. 227 sq.; Petersen, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst., Röm. Abt.* VII. 1892, pp. 32 sq. with pl. II.—*Antike Denkmäler*, II. 1, pl. 6, 7—*Furtwängler, Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 487. Cp. Petersen, in *Mitt. d. arch. Inst., Röm. Abt.*, XIV. 1899, p. 155. Prof. Petersen misinterprets this relief as the birth of Aphrodite, and asserts that his interpretation is strengthened by the picture on a hydria

chair of delivery, and supported by a woman who kneels behind her. In front of her crouches the midwife holding the newly born babe in her arms.* As an example of a votive offering of poor people to a goddess of childbirth, the terra-cotta group representing a birth-scene, which was found in Cyprus and is now in the Louvre, Paris, is of importance. The woman in labor is seated in the lap of another woman, who is giving her massage, whereas a second midwife kneeling before this group is performing her duties.* By a careful sifting of the monuments additional votive offerings of this sort can no doubt be found. Unfortunately, we are seldom in a position to name the goddess concerned. If this were possible, the material cited above would be of far greater value.

That mothers took pleasure in offering their own images in the type of Kourotraphos has been noted above. But also the proud father did not wish to be forgotten. A votive offering of this kind to Diana at Nemi in her capacity of a goddess of childbirth was found during the excavations made by Lord Savile at the lake of Nemi. It represents a terra-cotta group of a married couple, draped only from the waist down. They are seated close together on a broad chair or throne, and the husband puts his left arm around the neck of his wife. From a photograph of this group, for which I am indebted to Mr. Wallis, it can be

in Genoa which actually does depict the birth of Aphrodite. This very vase-painting, however, offers to me, at least, the best proof that the relief cannot be explained in like manner. The votive relief from the Artemision at Nemi, representing a parturition-scene, mentioned by Preller-Jordan, *Röm. Mythologie*, I. p. 317 seems to have disappeared.

* Illustrated in Cesnola, *Coll. of Cypriote Antiquities* (Metrop. Museum), I. pl. LXVI. fig. 435=Ploss, *Das Weib**, II. p. 181 fig. 129. I was unable to procure the article of Morgoulieff, *Étude critique sur les monuments antiques représentant des scènes d'accouchement*.

* See Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, III. p. 554 fig. 378. Cp. Marx, in *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, X. p. 188. For the custom of giving birth seated in the lap of another, see Ploss, *Das Weib**, II. pp. 163 sqq. and pp. 181 sqq.

clearly seen that the woman holds a child in her lap. Originally this child was overlooked and the woman was described as pregnant.²² A second copy of the same group has found its way to Chicago, and is now in the Art Institute.²³

In the British Museum there is a remarkable relief on the base of a statue now lost. It was found at Sigeion.²⁴ The relief represents a seated child-nursing goddess to whom three mothers carrying babes in swaddling-clothes are doing homage. A fourth woman seems to be approaching in order to make a sacrifice. It was a custom well known and practiced throughout Greece, that grateful parents showed their appreciation to the goddesses who took charge of the actual processes of birth, by dedicating to them their offspring. In the inscriptions quoted above under the different localities where sanctuaries of Eileithyia are known to have existed, frequent mention is made of a father or a mother dedicating their son or daughter to Eileithyia as a thank offering. In other words, the child was put under the protection of this divinity at a very early age. The Sigeion relief is an illustration of this custom. Whether the statue which stood on the base decorated with such scenes represented Eileithyia or some other goddess of childbirth is not known. The possibility is not excluded that the base bore a family group, on the order of the small terra-cotta just mentioned. If this is true we have a votive offering of a very wealthy family.—The figures of women carrying infants in swaddling-clothes remind one of a most interesting bronze statuette published by Gerhard.²⁵ It represents

²² See G. H. Wallis, *Catalogue of classical antiquities from the site of the temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy*, p. 19 no. 66. The example in the Art Institute of Chicago I saw in Room 15, Case 16.

²³ *Catalogue of Greek Sculpture, British Museum*, I. p. 362 no. 789; *Museum Marbles*, IX. pl. 11.—The Attic tombstone illustrated in J. P. Mahaffy's *Greek Pictures*, p. 99, may represent a Kourotropos with an infant in her arms, worshipped by a mother carrying a baby in swaddling-clothes.

²⁴ Illustrated in Gerhard, *Akadem. Abhandlungen*, pl. 49, 3.

a woman carrying a baby in swaddling-clothes on her left arm, whereas, in her right hand she holds a pig. The woman is, I imagine, about to sacrifice the pig as a thank offering for the easy delivery of her child. Similarly, live pigs, also snakes and 'figures of men' (phalloi) made of dough were sunk into the earth at the Thesmophoria as an offering for agrarian and human fertility.²⁶ We have sufficient evidence, legendary and monumental, that Athena was worshipped on the Akropolis of Athens as Kouroutrophos. To my mind there can be no doubt that an archaic relief (Έφημ. ἀρχ., IV., 1886, pl. 9; Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griech. u. röm. Skulptur* no. 17) found on the Akropolis, is a votive offering to Athena Kouroutrophos dedicated by a devout couple. It is noteworthy that on this occasion Athena does not wear her aegis, and that the worshipping family is about to sacrifice a pig. The cause for this offering is clear when we note the condition of the mother, for she is with child. Since the dedication of this relief was made before the birth of the child we learn that Athena is not only a cherisher of children, but also a protectress against miscarriage and a warder off of barrenness, in other words a secondary goddess of childbirth. No wonder then, that she was represented with the child Erichthonios, no wonder that two Errephoroi were connected with her cult on the Akropolis, and that she was in many ways interested in the life, growth and prosperity of the family.²⁷—Under the same head must be catalogued the votive relief to Eleuthia, i. e., Eileithyia found in the neighborhood of the ancient Hippola, which represents a woman with three children making a sacrifice at a burning altar (see

²⁶ On the Thesmophoria, see Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*,⁴ I. pp. 778 sqq.; Bloch, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 1, pp. 1331 sqq.; A. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 314; E. Rohde, *Kleine Schriften*, II. pp. 362 sq. pp. 378 sq.; Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, pp. 102 sqq.

²⁷ On Athena Apatouria, Phratria and Meter, see Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, I. pp. 302 sq. See also Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*,⁴ I. pp. 218 sq.

above page 25), and also a small votive tablet from Lakonia, now in the British Museum.²⁷

The dedication of children in swaddling-clothes on their mothers' arms, such as we have seen, for instance, on the base from Sigeion, a monument of the fourth century B. C., leads us to another kind of votive offering,—I refer to the countless terra-cotta reproductions of infants in swaddling-clothes, found, to be sure, mostly in Italy, although they are not unknown in Greece. We learn from these that children were dedicated to the deities of childbirth at a very early age, long before they were conscious of the fact, perhaps in connection with some vow on the part of the parents. The situation may have been somewhat as follows: Before its birth the wife promises to dedicate her child to that particular deity in whom she has most faith as divine midwife. If the birth be speedy and in all respects successful, the promise is fulfilled and the parents offer up the newborn babe as *εἰχλὴν* or *εἰχαριστήριον*. Unless there really was a custom of this kind in ancient times it would be impossible to explain the large number of swaddled children found, for the most part, in Italian sanctuaries. Dedications of this kind, made to a primary deity of childbirth, must not be confused with the dedications of children from the age of three to six made to some guardian divinity under whose protection they were placed. And yet it happened occasionally that one and the same goddess was worshipped not only as taking charge of the actual processes of birth, but also as being the nourisher and protectress of children. In some localities, as we shall soon see, Eileithyia had both functions to perform.—But to return to our votive offerings. In Curti near Capua, in Palestrina, and in Nemi terra-cotta infants in swaddling-clothes were found in such abundance that almost every European collection has some examples. Sometimes they are almost life-sized and wear a pointed hood or *pilos*. Quite frequently they are

²⁷ See Milchhoefer, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, II. p. 432, no. 5.

represented as lying in a cradle." In Greece the type is rarer. I am inclined to interpret the terra-cotta twins from Thebes, Olympia and Kyzikos in this manner, although I am aware that they are usually held to be the Dioscuri."

And yet, as has been already intimated, children were dedicated to Eileithyia not only as a goddess of childbirth but also as a divine guardian. Professor Furtwängler calls attention to the fact that the statues of little girls at play, ranging from three to six years of age, found in Agrai had been presented to Eileithyia Eukoline as Kourotraphos." He describes them as follows: "Die zwei kleineren kauern am Boden in den für die Kinder im Alterthume so beliebten Motiven; die zwei andern stehen, die eine mit einem Kaninchen, die andere mit einer Taube auf dem linken Arme. Alle vier sind in krauswolligen, langen Chiton gekleidet. Die Arbeit ist verschieden, doch nirgends älter als etwa drittes Jahrhundert." In Olympia a statue of the Roman period was found representing a boy clothed in the toga. He is playing with a goose. This is presumably a votive offering to Eileithyia Olympia conceived as a fosterer of children (see above, page 26). When figures of playing children are found such as those,

" Berlin Antiquarium, inv. nos. 7193-95 found at Curti. In the Dresden Museum (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 163) are examples of such infants found presumably in Palestrina and Nemi. Babies in cradles found at Curti: Berlin Antiquarium, inv. nos. 7196, 7198 *sqq.*; British Museum, Room of Terra-cottas, C47. How easily such representations could be turned into genre scenes is shown by one of the Berlin terra-cottas from Curti no. 7199, a winged Eros in a cradle. And yet we must include even this in the votive offerings to a goddess of childbirth. A mother's fondness for her child could easily lead her to compare it with Eros.

" From Thebes: Marx, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, X. pp. 81 *sqq.* with pl. IV. figs. 1 and 2; Miss Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Athens*, p. 154 fig. 32. From Olympia: Marx, *l. c.* p. 83. These were doubtless offerings to Eileithyia Olympia from her temple at that place. From Kyzikos: Gerhard, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1865, pl. CXCIX.

" See Furtwängler, in *Mittheil. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, III. pp. 197 *sq.* Cp. v. Sybel, *Skulpt. in Athen*, 591-594.

for instance, in the gardens of Pompeii, which served as mere decorations or as fountain figures, then, of course, they belong to the class of genre sculptures. It is moreover quite possible that the types of such genre statuettes which served mere decorative purposes in Roman times may have been originally invented for religious purposes, and may have been offerings set up in the sanctuary of a goddess of childbirth and Kourotrophos.

That Eileithyia was regarded not only in Agrai, Olympia, and Thera as a tutelary goddess of children besides holding the office of goddess of delivery is clearly seen by the finds from her grotto-sanctuary on the island of Paros. There Dr. Rubensohn discovered a life-sized marble statue of a boy squatting on the ground, and along with it a miniature marble copy of the same statue, as well as a large number of similar figures in terra-cotta. The charming individuality of the above-mentioned statues of little girls found in Agrai is entirely lacking in the figures from Paros. The life-sized monument was a votive offering of wealthy parents, while the smaller example of the type and those in the cheaper material of terra-cotta were gifts of the poor. Terra-cottas of this style, representing little boys either with or without the pointed cap, but otherwise entirely naked, have come to light in all parts of the Greek world. They always squat in the same stereotyped fashion. The left leg touching the ground in its entire length is bent at the knee, so that the heel is close to the body; but instead of drawing the right foot inward in the manner of the Turk, the leg is raised and bent at the knee, so that only the sole of the foot touches the ground. The right hand rests listlessly on the knee and the left supports the body.* Of course small variations occur, especially when the boy is playing with

* See Salzmann, *Nécropole de Camiros*, pl. 21. In the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 7218) is a terra-cotta squatting boy holding a dove in his right hand. It was found at Curti. No. 7219 is similar, but the child holds nothing in his hand. A whole nest of these figures must have been found at Thebes, where almost every peasant offers them for sale. One of these is in the Art Museum at Cincinnati. Perhaps the terra-cotta groups of twins,

some pet animal or toy. The type was invented in the first half of the fifth century B. C., and held its own down to the end of the Graeco-Roman period. Little girls in this conventional type are unknown to me.

More difficult of explanation are the masks of a female deity, found occasionally in graves, but more frequently in the sacred precincts of divinities of childbirth and of healing. It is important to note that masks of this sort—that they represent a goddess and not a human being can be determined by the head-dress—occur from the sixth century B. C. down to perhaps the second century A. D. in the Eileithyia-grotto on Paros. I am deeply indebted to my friend Dr. Rubensohn for his kind permission to make use of his material, even though he has not yet published the results of his Parian excavations. It is safe to infer that the masks found in such abundance in Eileithyia's sanctuary represent that very goddess and no other. One might think, at first blush, that they were votive offerings of the poor, meant to take the place of dedicatory copies of the cult-statue made by the rich. But then, why did people in meagre circumstances not prefer to buy terra-cotta reproductions of the cult-statue which would no doubt have been quite as cheap if not cheaper than these masks? I believe that there was a kind of mask-cult, if I may use the expression, carried on in connection with Eileithyia at Paros. We shall return to this point presently. Masks of the type we are now considering have been found in Italy, being especially common in Curti, in Palestrina in the precinct of a Kourotraphos, in the Asklepios sanctuary on the Tiber Island at Rome¹⁰ and in the Diana sanctuary at Nemi.¹¹ They are represented in

mentioned above, were dedicated in the same sanctuary from which the squatting boys came. For examples of the type found on Cyprus, see Cesnola, *Cyperm*, pl. XXXII. 4, p. 283 and pl. LXXIII. 3.

¹⁰ See Dressel, in *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1889, p. 163. The masks from Curti are in the Berlin Antiquarium.

¹¹ See Rossbach, 'Das Diana-Heiligtum in Nemi,' in the *Verhandlungen der 40. Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Göttingen*

the latter place either as a small mask from the forehead to the mouth, or as a full face mask, the head being decorated with a crown of flowers or of leaves. Occasionally profile views of a veiled head are found, but they may have served a different purpose, as did, for instance, the masks of Dionysos. The type of mask to which I would like to call especial attention differs from those of human beings in that they are decorated with veils, diadems or wreaths. To this class belongs the type which is modelled in bust shape (*protome*) representing a nourishing goddess who holds or presses her breasts, such as the terra-cotta example found in Boeotia, to which we have already had occasion to recur.¹⁸ Indeed, I hold that the *prosopa*-type grew out of the type of the *protome*. Good examples of the former type are the two female masks of the archaic period found by Dr. Bochlau on Samos.¹⁹ It does not follow, however, that because the child-nourishing goddess to whom the Parian masks were dedicated was identified on that island with Eileithyia, the same identification need necessarily hold true for Samos. In other words, we cannot use these masks on Samos to prove that Eileithyia was worshipped there as Kourotrophos. Their Kourotrophos may have been some other goddess. But right here a word of warning will not be out of place. We must not confuse these terra-cottas with a similar type of mask which was offered under entirely different circumstances. I refer to the *ex votos* to deities of healing presented by persons in order that they might be or because they had been cured of some disease of the face. When faces were offered for these purposes, they were never represented with the

(Leipzig, 1890), Sonderabdruck, p. 14, cp. *id.*, in *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1885, pp. 153 sqq.; see also Stieda, in *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. Röm. Abt.* XIV. 1899, pp. 235 sq., who studied them from a physician's point of view.

¹⁸ It is illustrated in Milani, *Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica*, I. 1899, p. 157 fig. 149.

¹⁹ Bochlau, *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen*, p. 159 with pl. XIII. fig. 7; cp. the mask from Megara Hyblaia: *Mon. Antichi*, I. pl. 9 no. 15 and the illustration in the text, p. 839.

slightest trace of the divine element so characteristic of the masks of deities of childbirth. The human faces found in sanctuaries of healing are without veil, crown or diadem.*

If I am right in tracing a connection between the Boeotian protome and the early deities of generation and nutrition, who are also represented in art as holding or pressing their breasts, then it would follow that the masks found in the Eileithyia-sanctuary at Paros were dedicated to her as a deity not only of delivery, but also of nutrition. Mothers who were desirous of ensuring the continuance of their nutritive powers would find the mask a suitable present for the goddess of nutrition.

As to the literary evidence concerning a mask-cult our sources are very scanty. I believe that Pausanias (VIII. 15, 1-3) refers to a religious ceremony which bears on the question in hand, when he speaks of the chthonic Demeter Kidaria (from *kidaris* turban) in Pheneos, Arkadia. For, on the Petroma, a most sacred and primitive baetylic monument to Demeter, which consisted of two large stones, there was a receptacle which contained a mask of Demeter Kidaria. At the Greater Mysteries the priest wore this Demeter-mask and smote the underground demons with rods. Now, since Demeter is associated with underground demons in this ceremony, the whole performance may have taken place to ensure agrarian and human fertility. That Demeter and Kore were elsewhere presented with masks is evinced by an inscription found

* A healed face on a marble slab, dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx, Athens, in his capacity of a god of healing: *Ancient Marbles in Br. Mus.* IX. pl. 41 fig. 7. For a similar marble ex voto which had been set in a pillar of lime-stone along with other members of the body cured by Asklepios at Athens, see v. Sybel, no. 2870. It bore the inscription cited in the *C. I. A.* II. 3, 1453. Masks of this sort in silver and gold are mentioned in the inventories of reliefs of various members of the human body which had been melted down: *C. I. A.* II. 2, 766, 10, 60, 110, etc. *C. I. A.* II. 2, 835, 10, 17, 32, etc. *C. I. A.* II. 2, 836, 31, 30, 45, etc. Similar dedication to Amphiaraos, the god of healing at Oropos: *I. G. S. I.* 303 *. Cp. also Cesnola, *Cyprus*, chap. V. pp. 157-8.

at Aigai, Aiolis,²² which reports that gilded silver masks were to be dedicated to them by three girls, whose names are given. Whether the masks dedicated to Eileithyia in her sanctuary at Paros, to a Kourotrophos in Samos and in Italy, were in any way connected with a cult similar to that of Pheneos and Aigai cannot be proved at the present state of our knowledge. I would at least like to raise the question, and hope that the *ex votos* in the shape of masks may soon be less puzzling to us.

The Boeotian protome of a goddess pressing her breasts leads us to the discussion of still another kind of votive offering, which represents not the breasts of the goddess, but those of the mother herself. As a rule they are, no doubt, thank offerings for the nutrition which Eileithyia and other deities of childbirth caused to flow from the mother's breast. Wealthy mothers dedicated gold and silver imitations of their breasts, the poorer class had to be satisfied with marble reliefs of the same subject. It is not surprising that votive reliefs of the more precious material have not come down to us, for, as the temple inventories prove, they were melted into bullion by order of the temple authorities even in ancient times.²³ But of the votive reliefs of female breasts in marble, a large num-

²² See Bohn-Schuchhardt, in *Jahrb. d. arch. Instituts, Ergänzungsheft*, II. pp. 41 sqq.: 'Α[ρ]ι[σ]τ[ό]δικα διὰ Φέρεος | ['Αρ]ι[σ]τ[ό]δικα διὰ 'Αξι[ω] | [. . ια δ]ιὰ Δόκω ἐπαγγελ[ι]ὰ δ[ι] μ[ε]ν[α] | σκευάσθη ἀργυ[ρ]α πρόσωπα ἕξ, κ[α]ι χρυσά[σ]θη καὶ θήσθη τὰς τε | [Δ]ι[μ]ατροὺ καὶ τὰς Κό[ρ]ας καὶ τῶν συνναύων | [θ]ύων etc. See also Bloch, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 1, p. 1304. The mask of Artemis at Chios, a work of Boupalos and Athenis (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* 36, 13) does not bear on this subject. Equally foreign are the masks used for apotropaic purposes. For the custom of beating the earth with rods, see Mannhardt, *Wald- und Feldkulte*, I. p. 283 and Frazer, *Commentary* on Paus. VIII. 15, 3. See also Miss Harrison, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XX. 1900, pp. 106 sq.

²³ *C. I. A.* II. 1, 403 speaks of a silver *oinochoe* made for the Heros Iatros from the bullion of such votive offerings. *C. I. A.* II. 2, 836 reports that from the melted reliefs a votive offering should be made for Asklepios. From *I. G. S. I.* 303 we hear that even coins, besides all sorts of members of the human body and old silverware, were melted down to make a new sacrificial cup for Amphiaraios.

ber were found in the precincts sacred to deities both of childbirth and of healing. From their inscriptions we learn that women dedicated their breasts not only to Eileithyia, but also to other divinities, namely, Zeus Hypsistos, Asklepios, Amphiaraos, Aphrodite, Artemis Kolainis, Artemis Anaïtis and Men Tiamou, Demeter and Kore. Since the material on this subject is very much scattered, it may be well to collect it and put it into accessible form in this place.

From the Eileithyia-grotto on the island of Paros came two votive reliefs with female breasts, which I saw in the house of Dr. Roussos, a resident of Paroikia, Paros. This grotto had consequently been pillaged by the Greeks before Dr. Rubensohn made his excavations there. The smaller of these two votive offerings is without an inscription. It is a tablet of Parian marble, $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 3 inches broad and $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick. The breasts themselves swell $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch above the surface. The larger votive offering, now broken in two pieces between the breasts, is also a tablet of Parian marble, $10\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, 6 inches broad and 1 inch thick. The height of the breasts is $1\frac{3}{4}$ inches. This relief was unquestionably fastened to the wall of the Eileithyia-cave, for it has two nail-holes. Over the breasts is written an inscription in Greek letters of the Roman period, clearly legible, as follows:

Ἐπικράτεια Εἰλεν
θῦα εὐχὴν.²²

It need not surprise us to find that women dedicated their breasts to male divinities, for they too were at times worshipped as deities of childbirth. Male demons performed the services of

²² A. Wilhelm, in *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XXIII. 1898, p. 435 gives a slightly different reading, in that he omits the *iota* after the *E* in Eileuthya. On a squeeze of this inscription in my possession the *iota* is quite plain though small. It seems to have been omitted in the first writing, but inserted later, when the sculptor noticed his mistake. Cp. A. Wilhelm, *ib.* XXIV. 1899, p. 346. On my second visit to Paros this monument was no longer in the possession of Dr. Roussos, nor do I know what has become of it.

midwives in the group found near Sparta (see above, page 43). and Zeus Hypsistos is, as we learn from the offerings made to him on the Pnyx hill at Athens, not only a god of healing, but also of childbirth, in the secondary sense of the term. But not only in Athens was he considered as such, for we have abundant evidence that elsewhere the same cult prevailed. On the highly archaic inscriptions cut in the rock at Thera, the name of Zeus is not lacking in the list of childbirth-divinities, as we have seen above (page 35, note 47). Nor can there be any doubt that Krinagoras (*Anthol. Palat.* VI. 244) regarded Zeus along with his consort Hera Teleia as a deity of childbirth. Furthermore, is it not weighty proof that Zeus is rightly included in this list since he was called Lecheates (Pausanias, VIII. 26, 6) in the Arcadian town Aliphera?—The members of the human body dedicated to Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx hill, which stamp him as a god of birth and of healing, belong without exception to the Roman period. That may, however, be due to mere chance. These *anathemata* were originally set in niches cut into the scarped rock beside the *bema*, but are now in the British Museum, having been discovered and carried away by Lord Aberdeen. According to the inscriptions three of the reliefs from these niches—each one represents one female breast—were vowed to Zeus Hypsistos as εὐχαί.²⁴ In the Berlin Museum (*Beschreibung der Skulpturen*, nos. 718, 719) are two similar reliefs, with only one breast modelled on each. One of these is also dedicated to Hypsistos. They were found on the north slope of the Akropolis, but may have been dragged thither from the Pnyx hill as building material, although this is not very probable. Zeus may just as well have had another shrine somewhere on the north or west slope of the Akropolis. We have, likewise in a very late period, traces of Theos Hypsistos as a god of childbirth in Golgoi on Cyprus, as is evinced by a lime-stone votive offering in the shape of a pair of breasts dedicated to that god.

²⁴ *Ancient Marbles in Br. Mus.* IX. pp. 185 sqq. with pl. 41 figs. 1-3 and *C. I. A.* III. 1, 153-155.

This tablet too has nail-holes for suspension.* Two other examples of this type, but without inscriptions, were found in the same temple precinct, and are now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.† On one of these there is sculptured a bunch of grapes under the breasts, symbolic of fruitfulness. The possibility is not excluded that these offerings were made to the Supreme Zeus out of thankfulness for a cure of some disease of the breast, such as inflammation of the nipple, mentioned by Artemidoros (*Oneirokritika*, IV. 22), or a tumor on the breast, mentioned by Herodotos (III. 133 sq.). For along with women's breasts, also a face, arms, feet, and imitations of other parts of the human body, which had been or were expected to be healed, were found on the Pnyx hill. But then, it must be remembered that diseases of the breasts are so often connected with childbirth that we are justified in mentioning even such votive breasts in this place. Zeus, the tutelary divinity of the family, gave offspring in marriage, watched over women with child, and was invoked, as we have seen, along with Hera Teleia by women in travail. What was more natural than that he should be able to control the flow of milk and care for the nutrition of children in general?

In addition to the manifold functions of the great physician-god, the Epidaurian Asklepios, he is also concerned with the actual processes of birth. He not only facilitates the birth itself, but also has control over woman's fruitfulness in marriage, and over her nutritive powers. He can send or prevent childlessness. We have evidence for all these statements from the invocations found in literature and in inscriptions. He is appealed to, and not in vain, by persons afflicted with the most wonderful diseases, and makes cures which excite the envy of the most distinguished physicians of our day. The inscriptions relating to

* See Perdrizet, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 1896, p. 361 no. 1; Cesnola, *Cyprus*, chapt. v. p. 158; and also *The Stone Sculptures of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum*, Hand-book No. 3, p. 33 no. 422; p. 88 no. 1402.

wonder-cures by Asklepios in his sanctuary at Epidauros—they belong to the fourth century B. C., but are compiled from older material—deserve to be more widely known. They not only throw light on the kinds of diseases known to the ancient Greeks, but also give us much valuable information as to their methods of healing. Of course, these inscriptions must be used with the greatest care and discrimination, but it does not seem possible, to take one example of the many, to invent a story concerning the Cæsarean operation (Pliny, *Nat. hist.* VII. 9) unless it had in reality been attempted.* Votive breasts, to be sure, were by chance not found in the Epidaurian *hieron*, although they were discovered at Athens not only in the Asklepion, but also in the sanctuary of Amynos on the west slope of the Akropolis. The oldest dedication of this sort made to Asklepios in Athens belongs to about the end of the fourth century B. C. (*C. I. A.* II. 3, 1482). In all, we have knowledge of about twenty votive breasts of women from this sanctuary.† Also from the Asklepion at Eleusis, the exact site of which is

* With Asklepios's aid Kleo, who had been pregnant five years, gave birth to a boy who immediately after birth was able to walk, according to one of the inscriptions of wonder-cures published by Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, p. 24 no. 1 lines 3-9. Likewise, Isthmonike pregnant three years gave birth to a daughter (*op. cit.* lines 10-23). Intensely interesting and instructive for obstetricians and the history of medicine is the story of Sostrate (*op. cit.* p. 29 no. 2 lines 26-35) because it deals with pseudocyesis and the Cæsarean section on living women. Valuable material on this subject is given in Ploss, *Das Weib*,² I. p. 491; *id.* II. p. 299. For Asklepios's power to cure sterility, see the story about Andromache, who presented her husband with a son, after Asklepios had merely touched her naked body. This is a most instructive example of the healing hand of the god (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 30 no. 2 lines 60-63). How much charlatanry was connected with these cures is clearly seen from the stories which hardly bear translation (Cavvadias, *op. cit.* p. 31 lines 116-119; 129-132). For general information on this subject see Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, pp. 370 sqq.

† A tablet dedicated to Asklepios, representing a breast in relief: *C. I. A.* III. 1, add. 132k. From the Amyneion at Athens, but dedicated to Asklepios, came a similar offering: Koerte, in *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XVIII. 1893, p. 241 sq. fig 3=C. I. A. IV. 2, 1511c. The votive tablet with a female breast (v. Sybel, 2997 (E 2751)) bearing the inscription *γυα ην δρέ-*

not yet known, there came a small marble votive tablet representing a female breast, found by a peasant. I am indebted to Mr. Skias for a copy of the inscription which, according to the type of the letters, belongs to the Roman period. It reads: Ἴσιδος | Ἀσκληπιῷ εὐχήν.

In the *temenos* of healing sacred to Amphiaraos at Oropos votive breasts were not found, although we have knowledge of such dedications in gold or silver from an inventory of the treasury of the Amphiaraeion, which belongs to the third century B. C. (*I. G. S. I.* 303 lines 69, 71). It is equally true of these votive offerings that they may have been dedicated to Amphiaraos on account of some other sickness than that connected with childbirth.

As regards Artemis, however, we are on firm ground again. Even in the earliest period she played a most important part as protectress of women with child. In fact the affinity between Artemis and Eileithyia is so strong that their symbols and features are often not to be distinguished, and the same epithets are frequently common to both. Along with Hera, Artemis may lay greatest claim to being a primary goddess of childbirth, and who knows but that she served this function long before Eileithyia became recognized as the goddess of childbirth *par excel-*

θηκε Ἀσκληπιῷ was found in the Asklepieion. In the magazine of the National Museum at Athens I found the following breast-reliefs, doubtless from the Asklepieion: (1) without inscription E 1160; (2) with slight traces of an inscription, but illegible, no number; (3) E 2833 (v. Sybel, 3013); (4) E 2788 (v. Sybel, 2995) with traces of letters above and below the breast; (5) without number, without inscription; (6) E 2759 (v. Sybel, 3015) with archaistic inscription Ἐκάλῃς ἀνάθημα; (7) E 1522 (v. Sybel, 2710); (8) E 2843 (v. Sybel, 2996). The others cited by v. Sybel, nos. 941, 1101, 1154, 1701 are presumably weights. The Asklepieion-inventory makes mention of similar *anathemata*: *C. I. A.* II. 2, 836 lines 21, 37, 42, 70, 78, 95. Of the three votive tablets, without inscriptions, representing breasts of women, which are now in the Museum at Leyden (*Archäologischer Anzeiger*, 1849, p. 83) two (nos. 148, 149) came from Melos, the third (no. 525) from the Asklepieion at Athens, as Dr. Holwerda kindly informs me.

lence. We may therefore infer with certainty that when votive breasts were offered her, it was most frequently done after the birth of a healthy child, so as to prevent deficient lactation. Dr. A. Wilhelm called my attention to a very interesting relief of the class with which we are now concerned, dedicated to Artemis Kolenis. Since it is here published for the first time, it may be of interest to give the dimensions. On a marble tablet $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad, $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches thick, the upper right and lower left corner of which is broken off, a single breast is represented in high relief. It is in the possession of the wife of Dr. Patrikios of Athens, but was found presumably on their country-seat in the neighborhood of Eretria, Eubœia. Under the breast is a Greek inscription dating from the Roman period:

Καλλιστράτη | Ἀρτέμιδι Καλε-
νίδι ἐπηκόω | εὐχὴν.

Kolainis or Kolenis, an epithet of Artemis, is not yet satisfactorily explained,² though it probably has something to do with childbirth. In this inscription she is very appropriately called Epekoos, because she listens to the prayers of women in travail.³ In Lydia, though not before the third century A. D. to be sure, we find Artemis Anaïtis coupled with Men Tiamou playing the part not only of a maternal goddess of healing and of childbirth, but also of guardian over the fertility of cattle. We gather this

² On Artemis Kolainis, see Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*,⁴ I. p. 311 note 4. In addition to the material cited by Robert we have (1) a decree (*C. I. A.* II. 1, 575) found in the township Myrrhinus (Merenda) which was set up in the sanctuary of Artemis Kolainis (*Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XII. 1887, p. 278 no. 150); (2) presumably from the same sanctuary, a small four-cornered altar dedicated to Artemis Kolainis (*ib.* pp. 277 sq. no. 149); (3) from the same place, an altar also dedicated to Kolainis (*ib.* pp. 282 sq. no. 180). The letters of the inscriptions on these two altars have precisely the same shape as those on the relief in the possession of Mrs. Patrikios, and belong consequently to the same period. The only difference is in the spelling of the word, Kolainis on the altars and Kolenis on the relief representing the breast. For Artemis Epekoos, see Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*,⁴ I. p. 320.

from a votive relief found in Gjölde, now in the Museum at Leyden. I find that the proportions of this monument are nowhere given, wherefore it seems important to note them here. The stele, which is crowned with a gable-shaped ornament, measures 2 feet 11 inches in height, 1 foot 5 inches in breadth (below), and 1 foot 2½ inches in breadth (above). On it are sculptured in high relief two breasts of a woman, and a human leg; to the right of these are two human eyes, merely incised in the stone. The stele stood on a base, for below is a peg for insertion in a socket. Beneath the objects depicted is the following inscription:*

Θεᾷ Ἀνάειτι καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου
Τύχῃ καὶ Σωκράτῃ καὶ Ἀμ-
μιανὸς καὶ Τρόφιμος οἱ Ἀμ-
μίου καὶ Φιλήτῃ καὶ Σωκράτῃ
αἱ Ἀμμιᾶδος πόησαντες τὸ ἱε-
ροπύημα εἰλασάμενυ Μητέ-
ραν Ἀνάειτιν ὑπὲρ τέκνων καὶ
θρεμμάτων ἐνγραφον ἔστησαν.
Ἔτους τεκά μηνὸς Ἐανδικοῦ.

Aphrodite as the goddess of marriage is at the same time goddess of childbirth and fosterer of children. At the Attic Thesmophoria, a birth-feast, Aphrodite Kolias was probably worshipped along with the Genetyllides,** divinities of midwifery. Be that as it may, it is certain that Aphrodite under the title of Kolias was regarded as a goddess of childbirth in the Pera-grotto on Mt. Hymettos, whither pregnant women went to drink the water of the sacred spring, so as to procure easy delivery. Barren women too were accustomed to drink from the spring in the

* I am indebted to Dr. Holwerda for a drawing of this stele and a squeeze of the inscription. The measurements are my own. The inscription has been frequently discussed: Μουσεῶν καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἐκκλησιαστικῆς Σχολῆς (Smyrna), 1884-5, p. 54, no. 54γ; S. Reinach, *Chroniques d'Orient*, 1886, I. p. 156; Perdrizet, in *Bulletin de Corr. Hellénique*, 1896, p. 58; Drexler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 2, p. 2703 no. 16. The tablet with two breasts (*Museion*, 1878-80 p. 165 no. 78δ') does not belong here.

** See Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I. pp. 779 sq. and 377 sq.

Pera-grotto in hopes of becoming fruitful."²² Additional literary evidence might be given that Aphrodite concerned herself with the birth and rearing of children, but it is not necessary to go into detail. Suffice it to say that we also have archaeological evidence on this subject; for Aphrodite was not forgotten after the successful delivery of an Athenian woman, who dedicated her breasts to the goddess, according to the inscription on a votive tablet (*C. I. A. III. 1, add. 130 a*) of this sort.

It is quite apparent that mothers and children stood under the special protection of agrarian divinities, and that therefore Demeter was held to be a Kourotrophos. As such she and her daughter Kore received votive offerings in the shape of female breasts, in their sacred precinct at Knidos.²³ Sometimes offerings of a like nature were made to Kore alone. Adjoining the Konak of the Turkish governor of Smyrna, in the garden of the School Idadié, I saw a marble tablet (labeled no. 130, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $6\frac{3}{4}$ inches high, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch thick) representing two breasts of a certain woman Tatias, dedicated as a votive offering to Kore, according to the inscription which is here published for the first time, as far as I know:

Τατιάς Κούρη ἐσχὲν ἀνέθηκεν.²⁴

²² Concerning Aphrodite as a goddess of agriculture, see Crusius, *Beiträge zur griech. Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (Abhandlung zu dem Jahresbericht der Thomasschule in Leipzig für das Schuljahr 1885-6), pp. 17 sq. Concerning the spring in the Pera-grotto: Photios, *Lex.*, 185, 21, *Κυλλοῦ πηγάς*.

²³ See Newton, *Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidae*, II. 2, pp. 387 and 804 sqq, where they are explained as weights. Nevertheless, I believe they are breast-dedications and not weights, for it would be difficult to explain the use of weights in a *temenos*. Judging from the illustrations (Newton, *op. cit.* I. pl. 58), fig. 9 is certainly a votive offering of the sort under discussion. Cp. Homolle, under "Donarium" in Daremberg et Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités*, II. p. 375.

²⁴ For *Tatias* (a 'Lallname') see P. Kretschmer, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache*, p. 349. The same form of the name is found in a Lydian inscription from Gjölde (Drexler, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 2, p. 2704).

Before leaving the subject of dedicated breasts, it is necessary to call attention to a similar kind of offering, representing an arm and breast clasped by a hand. An example of this type was found in Naukratis, dedicated no doubt to Aphrodite. Mr. Gutch²² has given the correct interpretation when he calls them "votive offerings made by mothers to ensure the continuance of their nutritive powers." They remind us of the Boeotian *protome* mentioned above (see pages 3 and 53). In this connection Mr. Gutch writes: "Four objects of a like nature are figured, two for the first time, in Professor Ridgeway's new book on the Early Age of Greece. They consist of 'a necklace of gold and cornelian beads, with pendants which consist alternately of glass paste and gold plate in the form of a hand grasping a woman's breast, from which hangs a small acorn formed of an olive-green stone in a gold cup,' from Aegina; a gold relief from Rhodes representing a woman with her hands held to her breasts; and two other similar gold reliefs of unknown provenance. They are no doubt intended for personal wear as milk-charms."

The Greeks considered not only the mother's breasts a suitable present to the deities of childbirth, but also the private parts. In this manner I, at least, am inclined to explain the votive offerings representing *vulvae*, *uteri*, and *ovaria*. Marble and terra-cotta vulvae were dedicated in Greece and Italy in almost all the sanctuaries of healing and of childbirth. But up to the present, as far as I know, no dedicated uteri were found in Greece, though they are quite common in Italy. The material of which they were made is in all cases terra-cotta.²³ The male organ of generation

²² *British School Annual*, V. (1898-9) p. 83.

²³ Stieda, in the *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. Röm. Abt.*, 1899, p. 241 treats of these organs, but leaves the "so-called uteri" unexplained. Examples of these terra-cotta wombs can be seen in the Munich collection of terra-cottas and in the Berlin Antiquarium, but especially in the Museums of Italy. Uteri from the Nemi-Artemision are illustrated in *Archaeologia*, vol. L. pl. VIII. (London, 1887). Cp. also Biardot, *Terres Cuites Grecques Funebres* (Paris, 1872). pl. VI.; and Ploss, *Das Weib*,² I. p. 172 fig. 46.

was also offered for offspring, especially in connection with the Arrhephoria or Arrhetophoria.¹⁰ It would be a tedious, unsatisfactory, and vain undertaking to cite all the consecrated phalloi here, for it is evident that in many cases they were offered for entirely different purposes from that of obtaining human fertility. Let me only mention in passing that Theos Hypsistos in Golgoi, Cyprus, to whom the female votaries presented breasts, as we have seen above, was also the recipient of the male organ of generation (Perdrizet, in *Bulletin Corr. Hellén.* 1896, p. 362), and that similar votive offerings were found in the Asklepion at Athens (v. Sybel, 2705 sq., 4058 etc.). Since Asklepios also received marble tablets in the shape of vulvae, precisely like those offered to Aphrodite in her sanctuary at Daphne because of childlessness in marriage,¹¹ I am inclined to explain in the same manner the ex votos of genitals offered by men.

Also to Zeus Hypsistos on the Pnyx hill the women consecrated their *hebai* = vulvae besides their breasts (*C. I. A.* III. 1, 150). This strengthens our supposition that the supreme god was worshipped at this place not only as a god of healing, but also of childbirth and fertility in marriage. The anathemata of this sort in Italy are mostly of terra-cotta, as, for instance, the example

¹⁰ See Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 510; Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.* I. p. 781 note 1. Cp. above, pp. 17 sq. and 48.

¹¹ The *hebe* dedicated to Asklepios is now in the Akropolis-magazine no. 3690. Cp. the votive offerings mentioned in the Asklepion-inventory *C. I. A.* II. 2, 836 lines 39, 49, 100 and 109. The vulvae from the grotto of Aphrodite near Daphne on the Sacred Way were originally inserted in niches cut in the walls of the cave. They were offered to Aphrodite as goddess of childbirth and fertility. Recall how Aigeus because of his childlessness introduced Aphrodite Ourania into Athens (Pausanias, I. 14; 6). The site of this sanctuary leads to the suggestion that Aphrodite as birth-goddess played a part in the Greater Eleusinian festival, like Aphrodite Kolia in connection with the Thesmophoria. The inscriptions belonging to these *hebai* are in some cases on the reliefs themselves, in others below the niches incised in the rock. See *C. I. A.* II. 3, 1556 sq., 1569; IV. 2, 1558 b-n; III. 2, 3823. For general information on this sanctuary of Aphrodite, see Frazer's Commentary on *Pausanias's Description of*

in the Berlin Antiquarium (T. C. 3241) from Curti. For whom this offering was intended is not known. The three vulvae from the Artemision at Nemi were without doubt dedicated to Diana, because she was recognized there as a birth-goddess.²⁸

That our interpretation of these votive gifts is correct, is supported by the evidence gained from an inscription found at Delos, which makes mention of such offerings to the Delian Eileithyia in the following terms: ἐν τῷ Εὐλειθυαίῳ . . . ἐρωτίῳ καὶ βουβαλίων ζεύγος πρὸς ἑύλῳι, Θεσσαλίας ἀνάθημα (see above, page 33).

From the epigrams in the *Anthology* we learn that mothers dedicated their garments, their girdles, the ornaments taken from their hair and sometimes even their locks, usually after the birth of a child, in fulfillment of a vow. It is permissible to make use of these epigrams for our purpose of determining the different kinds of votive offerings suitable to deities of childbirth, even though they were not in reality offered; because they are nevertheless based on actual occurrences and consequently give us an insight into the habits and customs of their day. The custom of dedicating a robe to Artemis Brauronia on the Athenian Akropolis, after successful delivery, is well-known through the administration-reports of her temple, dating from the middle of the fourth century B. C. (*C. I. A.* II. 2, 751, 754-764). According to Euripides (*Iph. Taur.* 1462 *sqq.*) offerings of women's robes were made to Iphigeneia in Brauron, in behalf of those who had died in child-bed. Iphigeneia was therefore regarded as a goddess of childbirth at Brauron. In that aspect we have already met her in

Greece, II. pp. 497 *sqq.*; Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen*, p. 228 note 2. In a rock-grotto of Aphrodite near Tyre vulvae are incised on the wall: *Corp. Insc. Semit.* pl. III. 6 and pp. 27 *sq.* See also Richter, *Kypros, Bibel und Homer*, pp. 150 *sq.*, figs. 145-148. One of the inscriptions mentions Ptolemaios and Aphrodite *Epekoos*. In Naupaktos too we find a cult of Aphrodite as goddess of childbirth and marriage: Paus. X. 38, 12. Traces of this grotto have unfortunately not been found (Weil, in *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, IV. 1879, p. 23 note 1).

²⁸ See Rossbach, in *Bull. dell' Inst.* 1885 p. 153.

Argos (see above, page 22). After the birth of a healthy child the mother was accustomed to offer Artemis not only her robe, girdle, and locks, but also her sandals, breast-band, and head-dress. In one case we hear even of the proud father offering his sandals (*Anthologia Palatina*, VI. 201, 271, 277). Besides Artemis, her mother Leto was not forgotten on such occasions, for we read (*Anthol. Palat.* VI. 202, 272) that as a goddess of childbirth Leto received "a girdle with beautiful tassels," a garment and a breast-band. In the same collection of epigrams (*Anthol. Palat.* VI. 274) we hear of a girl who invoked Eileithyia as *πόννια, κουροσός, δλβία Ειλείθνια*, while dedicating to the goddess her robe and her *stephane* as offerings for deliverance (*rhysia*). After successful parturition Ambrosia deposited the ribbon of her hair (*δέσμα κόμας*) and her *peplos* at the feet of Eileithyia (*Anth. Pal.* VI. 200). Ampharete decorated the cult-statue of Eileithyia with her transparent veil, in expectation of an easy birth (*Anth. Pal.* VI. 270). Kallirrhoe dedicated to Aphrodite crowns, to Athena a lock of her hair, and to Artemis a girdle, after the birth of her first son (*Anth. Pal.* VI. 59).

Since, as is well known, the Greeks held birth to be unclean (Thuc. III. 104), it is only natural to suppose that the above-mentioned articles of dress were those worn just before the birth of the child. The act of loosening the girdle was symbolic of an easy delivery, and so it came to be a suitable gift for a goddess of childbirth. The offering of hair-fillets goes back presumably to a similar custom, for a woman in child-bed laid aside not only her girdle, but also her hair-bands, letting her hair flow loosely down her back. There was a superstition among the Greeks that if anything was tied or twisted during this period, the process of birth would be impeded. The epithet *λυσιζωνος* is therefore appropriately applied to both Artemis and Eileithyia.¹⁰

¹⁰ See Preller-Robert, *Griech. Myth.*⁴ I. p. 319; Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, II. p. 444; Theokritos, 17, 60. Interesting comparisons are to be found in Ploss, *Das Weib*,⁸ II. pp. 245 sq. Cp. also the grave-

It is especially noteworthy that in the *Anthology* (*Anth. Pal.* VI. 201 and 59) human hair was among the things offered Artemis and Pallas Athena as goddesses of delivery. Generally hair offerings were not made after the birth of a child as a thank offering, but before the wedding, presumably as a propitiatory offering, for the sake of offspring. But in both cases the recipients of this sacrifice were goddesses of childbirth, with the only difference that in the case before us the dedicatory offering was made to a goddess of midwifery after having escaped the dangers of childbirth, whereas in the other case, the offering was made to some Kourotraphos or goddess of fertility in marriage, before the birth of a child, nay, even before the wedding. Such Kourotraphoi and marriage-goddesses are, as we have seen, liable to develop into real goddesses of childbirth and are closely related to Eileithyia. Indeed, the latter was also regarded as Kourotraphos, as has been made sufficiently apparent above. Regarding hair-dedications there is some valuable information scattered throughout Greek literature, which may be well worth our while to collect and discuss at this point.

In honor of the Hyperborean virgins, Hyperoche and Laodike, Delian youths and maidens sacrificed locks of their hair just before marriage, as Herodotos (IV. 34) tells us. The maidens wrapped their locks around a spindle, the youths wrapped theirs around the first green shoot of some plant, not further designated. These were then deposited in the sanctuary of Artemis on the grave of the Hyperborean virgins. From this we learn that Hyperoche and Laodike stood in close relationship to Artemis in her cult at Delos. In addition to this it is noteworthy that Hyperoche and Laodike, like Eileithyia, were reported to have come from the

reliefs of women who had died in travail: Conze, *Die attischen Grabreliefs*, pl. 46, 74, 75 and p. 70 text-illustration. Of these, two have already loosened their girdle and only the first one's hair is done up; in the case of the others it hangs loosely down the back. Cp. Wolters, *Εφημ. ἀρχ.* X. 1892, p. 229 note 2.

realms of the Hyperboreans, the land of light. Now, because of the close affinity between these virgins and Eileithyia, we are justified in concluding that the locks of hair were offered them to ensure human fertility to the votaries, and that in this respect they are goddesses of childbirth. Their counterpart, Arge and Opis (Herodotos, IV. 35; Pausanias, I. 43, 4), are brought into direct relationship with Eileithyia in the legend, for they too came as virgins to Delos from the land of the Hyperboreans with propitiatory gifts to Eileithyia so as to procure a quick and easy birth. When we call to mind the evidence gained from the epigrams in the Anthology concerning hair offerings, and the additional proof that it was customary to offer locks of one's hair at Delos so as to prevent sterility, then we certainly have the right to conclude, when we read that maidens about to enter wedlock sacrificed a lock of their hair to Arge and Opis, that it was done for identically the same purpose.¹⁰⁰ Pausanias (I. 43, 4) informs us that it was the custom at Megara for maidens about to enter wedlock to make libations at the tomb of the virgin Iphinoë, daughter of Alkathoos, and at the same time to offer locks of their hair. We cannot say with certainty that Iphinoë was a goddess of marriage and childbirth, but the fact that Pausanias in the same passage reminds us of the Delian custom of offering locks in honor of Hekaerge and Opis makes it highly probable that the ritual was for the same purpose both in Delos and in Megara. Likewise in Athens was it customary for women, usually before marriage, to shear their hair in honor of Hera Teleia, Artemis, and the Moirai (Pollux, III. 38; Hesychius *s. v.* γάμων ἱέρη) to prevent barrenness.

¹⁰⁰ Concerning Hyperoche and Laodike, Opis and Arge, see Crusius, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, I. 2 pp. 2811 sqq. 2835. He says very aptly: "Die 'Hyperboreeropfer' sollen wie zahlreiche verwandte agrarische Bräuche dem Menschen Ehesegen und Wachstum gewährleisten: jener echt griechischen Anschauung entsprechend, wonach dieselbe göttliche Kraft im Wachstum des Feldes wie des Volkes wirksam ist." On this point, see the first chapter of this paper. See also Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, II. pp. 465 sq.

The hair of children was sacred to the river-gods as Kourotraphoi, in honor of whom it was allowed to grow (Usener, *Götternamen*, p. 125, note 10, and p. 353). Also in Thera were locks of hair offered to the Nymphs of the Dymanes, presumably out of gratitude for offspring or safety in childbirth (see above, page 35, note 47). In Titane (Paus. II. 11, 6) the cult-image of Hygieia was so entirely covered with the hair of women and with bands of Babylonian raiment, votive offerings of the women, that one could hardly see the statue. Since we have learned that the garments and the locks of women were suitable gifts to goddesses of childbirth, and since the dedicated breasts of women seem to indicate that Asklepios was not only a god of healing but also of nutrition, since, furthermore, we have absolute proof that Asklepios was concerned with the very processes of childbirth in Epidauros, we may be right in assuming that Hygieia received the above-mentioned gifts of robes and hair not because of her ability to heal, but because of her interest in matters that had to do with child-bearing and the rearing of children. On the other hand, I am inclined to believe that the offerings of hair to Asklepios and Hygieia in Paros (*C. I. G.* 2391 *sqq.*) were made to them as deities of healing. It happens not infrequently that one and the same kind of votive offering serves diverse purposes. This is especially true of the case in hand. For instance, from Artemidoros (*Oneirokritika*, I. 22) we learn that not only the sick, but also those who had suffered shipwreck cut their hair in honor of the god to whom they attributed their recovery or assistance.¹²⁴ It is at times impossible to give the correct interpretation of votive offerings of locks of hair, because in addition to the various purposes just discussed,

¹²⁴ See also *Anthol. Palat.* VI. 164. Concerning the practice of dedicating hair in the niches of the temple of Zeus Panamaros in Caria, see Deschamps and Cousin, in *Bull. Corr. Hellén.* XII. 1888, pp. 479 *sqq.* For additional material on hair-dedications, see Frazer in his Commentary on *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III. pp. 279 *sqq.*

they are known to have had another significance. I refer to their being a substitute for human sacrifice.

From an inventory of the *anathemata* belonging to the Delian Eileithyiaion it is evident that the women, most likely after a successful delivery, dedicated, besides *typoi*—by which I understand reliefs of breasts and of other parts of the body—also most valuable jewelry to the goddess: golden rings with precious stones, bracelets, armlets, ear-rings, a golden heart, etc. Silver-plated apples—the apple being symbolic of fertility—and small gilded animals are also mentioned in the list (see above, page 33). The question may well be asked: What animals were liable to be dedicated to Eileithyia? In general we may suppose that Eileithyia would rejoice especially in such animals as could be interpreted as being symbolic of fruitfulness. The Thebans, for example, regarded the weasel as an animal sacred to the goddess of childbirth. It plays a most important part in the story of the birth of Herakles.¹⁰⁰ According to Ailianos, the Egyptian Herakleopolitai revered the ichneumon, as an animal sacred to Leto and Eileithyia (see above, page 37). The pig is above all other animals a symbol of fertility, and for that very reason was preferred as a most suitable sacrifice for deities of childbirth. We have already seen that the pig plays a most conspicuous part in the celebration of the Thesmophoria, that a pregnant woman sacrificed a pig to Athena as goddess of fertility on the Akropolis at Athens, and that—if I interpret the statuette rightly—a young mother holding a baby in swaddling-clothes is about to sacrifice a pig to some deity of childbirth, in acknowledgment of her quick labors. In the *temenos* of Demeter and Kore at Halikarnassos an important terracotta was found. It represents a woman standing, the upper half of her body entirely nude, pressing a pig to her breast. Newton

¹⁰⁰ Aelian. *Nat. anim.* XII. 5. Concerning Galinthis or Galinthias, the deified weasel, and midwives in general, see Welcker, *Kleine Schriften*, III. pp. 190 sqq., 194.

was quite right in calling her Kore, and was able to point out similar representations. Demeter and Kore were doubtless regarded also as deities of childbirth at this sanctuary, and were worshipped as such, for another terra-cotta statuette, found in the same precinct, represents a Kourotrophos or mother nursing her child. Even the type of the squatting boy, with which we are now familiar as a proper dedication to child-nourishing deities, is not wanting in Demeter's sanctuary at Halikarnassos.¹⁰⁰ When we find Kore represented with a pig as an attribute, we must consider her a goddess of childbirth. But we have additional proof that Demeter and Kore in their precinct at Knidos were conceived as goddesses of birth and human fertility, for among the dedications, votive breasts, already mentioned, and marble pigs almost life-size were found. One of the latter was dedicated by a woman named Plathainis, wife of a certain Platon, to Kore.¹⁰¹ Beyond this, the inscription unfortunately gives us no information, but it seems certain, at least to me, that Plathainis made the offering either for offspring, or out of thankfulness for easy delivery. There is still another mode of dedicating pigs to deities of childbirth, as is seen in the terra-cotta imitations of this animal carrying a child on its back. The combination seems odd at first glance, for what is the meaning of a child riding or lying on a pig's back? The only satisfactory explanation is to be sought, as has just been intimated, in the circumstance that the pig is a symbol of human fertility. In quite the same manner must we explain the terra-cotta votive offering in the Museum at Karlsruhe, which represents a boy riding a cock. Where, however, the cock and the pig occur without the child—there are such *ex votos* in the Cincinnati Art Museum—it is doubtful for what purpose and to whom the dedica-

¹⁰⁰ Newton, *Halikarnassus, etc.* I. pl. 47 figs. 4, 5; Text, II. 1 p. 328. On Budrum (Halikarnassos), Field of Chiaoux, a temenos of Demeter and Kore: *l. c.* pp. 330 *sq.* Squatting boy: pl. 60 fig. 11.

¹⁰¹ Newton, *l. c.* pl. 58 figs. 2, 3; pl. 89 fig. 19. Text, II. 2, p. 385, (7) and (8).

tions were made, unless perchance they are found in sanctuaries of birth-deities. Hens were also appropriate gifts for divinities of childbirth.¹⁰⁰—In conclusion, before we leave the subject of votive offerings to take up the study of Eileithyia-representations on the vase-paintings and other monuments which have no bearing on her cult, it is necessary to say a few words about the tortoise, another animal pre-eminently sacred to Eileithyia and her associates. In Upper Bavaria and Tyrol, down to the present day, wax or iron tortoises are said to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary by barren women, because the uterus is often identified with a tortoise in popular parlance. Indeed, it is very remarkable what a striking resemblance there is between the above-mentioned terracotta ex votos representing uteri and the tortoises of the same material, now found everywhere in Greece. In this connection attention must be called to the formulae of Greek exorcisms in which the *ύστέρα* is compared with all sorts of animals.¹⁰¹

It is hardly necessary to say that in this chapter we have not exhausted the types of votive offerings that might be made to

¹⁰⁰ The cock was especially sacred to Leto. It is a symbol of painless delivery and was thought to assist women in labor. Cp. Aelian, *Nat. anim.* IV. 29: *πυθάνομαι δὲ διὰ ἄρα καὶ τῇ Λητοῖ φίλον ἔστιν ὁ ἀλεκτρυὼν τὸ θρεῖν, τὸ δὲ αἶτιον, παρέστη φασὶν αὐτῇ τὴν διπλὴν τε καὶ μακαρίαν ὥδινα ὠδιούσῃ. ταῦτά τοι καὶ νῦν ταῖς τικτοῦσαις ἀλεκτρυὼν πάρεστι, καὶ δοκεῖ πως ἐδώδιναι ἀποφαίνειν.* On Leto as a birth-goddess see Enmann, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 2 pp. 1968 sqq. Cp. also Ploss, *Das Weib*,³ I. pp. 494 sqq. After the danger period connected with childbirth is safely passed, it is still customary in Greece to kill a cock (Wachsmuth, *Das alte Griechenland im Neuen*, p. 71 note 2). From a recently published inscription, found in the Asklepæion at Epidaurus, we learn that hens were sacrificed to Leto and Artemis presumably as birth-goddesses. The inscription is published and discussed by Kabbadias, *τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ*, p. 186 note 1; *ib.* p. 208 with note 2—*Ἐφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1899, pp. 5 sqq. But the cock, it must be remembered, was also sacrificed to deities of healing, see, for example, Herondas, IV. 12 sqq.

¹⁰¹ For an iron tortoise symbolic of the womb, see Ploss, *Das Weib*,³ I. p. 171 fig. 45 (Museum at Wiesbaden); for a wax example of this type: *ib.* p. 444 fig. 92 (Salzburg). Concerning the ancient Greek formulæ of exorcisms, see Drexler, in *Philologus*, 1899, pp. 594 sqq.

deities of childbirth. It seemed nevertheless a necessary and worthy undertaking to call special attention to several types of this nature, for we were thus able to add some deities to the associates of Eileithyia whose functions along this line were up to the present not sufficiently well known.

CHAPTER IV

EILEITHYIA—REPRESENTATIONS IN ART

The literary investigation of the cult-images in the sanctuaries of Eileithyia, the study of the votive offerings and of the coins resulted, it is true, in giving us but a vague idea of the appearance of the goddess in her cult-statues. This much, however, may be said with certainty: Eileithyia was usually represented as standing and draped. Only in one locality, namely in Bura, could the possibility of an undraped form of the goddess be taken into consideration (see above, page 28). But it must be remembered that Pausanias was not permitted to see all the cult-images of the goddess of childbirth, for some were kept strictly secret, no one but the priestesses being allowed to lay eyes upon them, because of their extreme sacredness, as Pausanias himself leads us to conclude, in his description of the Eileithyia-sanctuary at Hermione. Might not the peculiarity of the representation of the image, perhaps its nakedness, or its kneeling position in the act of childbirth, have been the cause for secrecy? This seems more than probable, for a nude Eileithyia is far from being "an inconceivable representation," as Mr. Farnell would have us believe. The oldest cult-statues were naturally of wood, xoana, decorated with real raiment, costly ribbons, and finely woven veils, votive gifts for a speedy and easy birth. Even in later times, the images were made of wood, with only the visible, undraped parts, such as hands, feet, and face, of marble (Paus. VII. 23, 5). In Bura, however, and in Messene (Paus. VII. 25, 9; IV. 31, 9) the *agalmata* were entirely of stone. In both instances we are able to date these monuments as not earlier than the fourth century B. C. As regards the attributes of Eileithyia, we find that her emblem at

Aigion was the torch (Paus. VII. 23, 5), and that on the coins she sometimes holds the same attributes, one raised, the other lowered. By this position of the arms we are led to believe that the maker of the coins imagined the goddess alternately moving the torches up and down (see above, page 27), a sort of hocus-pocus gesture. And yet, on the only authentic copy of an image of Eileithyia—the inscription proves the name—the goddess does not hold a torch, but a calycine flower in her right hand, whereas with her left she lifts her garment in a very every-day manner. The torch may have been emblematic of light and life, the light which scares away all evil spirits, and the flower was no doubt symbolic of fertility. In the vase-paintings the Eileithyiai are oftenest represented without attribute. Only twice, on black-figured vases (*Mon. dell' Inst.* VI. 56, 3 *Él. Cér.* I. 57), do we find that one of the two Eileithyiai holds a wreath.¹⁰⁷ Respecting the type of Eileithyia Eulinos at Delos and Kleitor, Pausanias (VIII. 21, 3) gives us no information as to whether or not her nature as a goddess of destiny was brought out by means of any characteristic attribute.

It will now be necessary, however, to make a more detailed study of those Eileithyia-representations which have no direct bearing on the cult, such as vase-paintings and decorative reliefs, but which throw light on the mythological conception of the goddess of childbirth. We have learned from the literary sources that Eileithyia is often represented in the plural. A sifting of the monumental sources bearing on this subject has led to the same results. With regard to the vase-illustrations of birth-scenes, it depends largely upon the given surface at the disposal of the vase-painter, whether he shall represent one, two or even three Eileithyiai. If he is decorating a small vase, and is cramped for room,

¹⁰⁷ Roulez, in *Ann. dell' Inst.* 33. 1861, p. 302 tries to prove that the wreath had medicinal properties. Schneider, 'Die Geburt der Athena,' in *Abhandlungen des Arch. Epig. Seminars der Universität Wien* (1880), I. p. 17 explains the wreath in a much simpler manner, as a present for Athena. It may have been a votive offering presented by Zeus, so as to have an easy delivery, or it may have been merely an emblem of fertility.

he must be satisfied with one Eileithyia.¹⁰⁰ For the sake of symmetry, he is more apt to depict two¹⁰¹ rather than three. Indeed, there are only two examples, where three Eileithyiai occur in one and the same picture,¹⁰² even though three midwives correspond more to real usage, for Soranos, a physician from Ephesos, tells us that three assistants must be present at every delivery, two at the sides, and a third behind the woman in labor, to prevent her from falling backward.¹⁰³ We must not, therefore, imagine for one moment that a dualism of form was the preferred religious or mythological conception of the goddess Eileithyia, even though the monuments at first glance seem to warrant such a conclusion. Nor is the number of Eileithyiai fixed in any certain period or locality; it varies just as arbitrarily on the Attic black-figured ware as in the Homeric Epos. Only once, and that on a black-figured *kylix* of Phrynos,¹⁰⁴ is Eileithyia altogether wanting at the birth of Athena. But then, in this vase-painting, we miss all the other divinities commonly assembled to watch the mysterious birth, except Hephaistos, who could not very well be omitted, because he plays too important a part in the process to be absent, for it is

¹⁰⁰ One Eileithyia: Masner, *Wiener Katalog* 223; Gerhard, *Vasenbilder*, I. 1; *Museo Gregoriano*, II. 39, 48 fig. 2b; *El Cér.* I. 64, 65 (red-figured *pelike*)=Gerhard, *Vasenb.* I. 3, 4=Smith, *Cat. of Vases in Br. Mus.* III. p. 256, E 410.

¹⁰¹ Two Eileithyiai: e. g. Gerhard *Vasenbilder*, I. 2. 5; *El Cér.* I. 61. 63 (Oltos *kylix*)=Cat. of Vases in Br. Mus. III. p. 50, cp. Hartwig, *Meisterschalen*, pp. 79, 233 note 1. On Etruscan mirrors two Eileithyiai occur: e. g. Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, IV. 1, 284 285; *id.*, V. 6=*Mon. dell' Inst.* IX. 56, 3=Walters, *Cat. of Bronzes in Br. Mus.* p. 91 no. 617. For two Eileithyiai on a relief from Chalkedon representing the birth of Athena, see S. Reinach, in *Revue des Etudes Grecques*, 1901, pp. 127-137 (1 pl.). (This reference is taken from the *American Journal of Archaeology*, V. 1901, p. 462, without my being in a position to verify it.)

¹⁰² Three Eileithyiai: Masner, *Wiener Katalog*, pl. IV. 237; *El Cér.* I. 57.

¹⁰³ Soranos (Rose), p. 239, old Latin translation, p. 22. Cp. Wolters, in *Εφημερίς αρχαιολογική*, 1892, p. 227 note 2.

¹⁰⁴ *El Cér.* I. 56.

his special function to split open the head of Zeus with his ax, in order that the king of the gods may be delivered of Athena.

Professor von Schneider has made a careful study of the monuments which illustrate the story of the birth of Athena. To his list, under Class III. must be added a vase in the Museo Municipale of Orvieto, representing "Zeus with the new-born Athena on his knee, between two Eileithyiai;" and under Class I. a fragment of a black-figured vase, found on the Akropolis. Of the figure of Eileithyia on this potsherd only her outstretched hands behind Zeus remain. Athena, fully armed, is springing from the head of her father.¹¹³ Quite recently still another monument has been added to the list of illustrations of the birth of Athena. It is "a somewhat fragmentary marble relief from Kadi-Keui, the ancient Chalcedon, now in the imperial museum at Constantinople. Zeus is represented between two goddesses, the Ilithyiae, just before the birth of Athena. This is the first known relief representing this scene, and belongs to the latter part of the sixth century B. C., as is shown by its style and the letters of the fragmentary inscription."¹¹⁴

In the vase-painting it occurs only once that Eileithyia is assisted by Demeter as goddess of childbirth, and this is on a so-called Tyrrhenian amphora (*Mon. dell' Inst.* IX. pl. 55 = Furtwängler, *Berliner Vasenkatalog*, 1704) now in Berlin. Had the figure not been labelled Demeter by means of an inscription, she would without doubt have been identified with Eileithyia, for she has no characteristic peculiarities of her own. We must, therefore, be on our guard lest we overrate the importance of vase-figures as throwing light on the appearance of lost statuary. That

¹¹³ Schneider's paper on 'Die Geburt der Athena' is in the *Abhandlungen des Arch. Epig. Seminars der Universität Wien* (1880), pp. 1 sqq. The vase at Orvieto is mentioned by Karo, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1899, p. 140 note 3. The fragment from the Akropolis: Studniczka in *Εφημ. Αρχ.* 1886, pp. 117 sq. with pl. 8, 1.

¹¹⁴ Quoted from the *American Journal of Archaeology*, V. 1901, No. 4, p. 462, a summary of an article by S. Reinach, in the *Revue des Études Grecques*, 1901, pp. 127-137, not accessible to me.

is to say the vase-painters had no typical figure which was reserved for Eileithyia alone. Where Demeter plays the part of goddess of childbirth, she takes on the form, character, and pose of an Eileithyia. On the other hand, the Berlin vase-painting is a welcome verification of our observation that Demeter was sometimes considered a goddess of childbirth, as, for instance, in her sanctuary at Knidos (see above, page 63), and at Syracuse and Tarentum.¹²⁸ But it seems very rash, indeed, to make use of the appearance of Demeter on a "Tyrrhenian" vase to answer the question whether this kind of pottery goes back to Ionian or Dorian influence.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, it is exceedingly remarkable that only on the "Tyrrhenian" vases (*Mon. dell' Inst.* VI. 56, 2 and 3) do we find the Eileithyiai really assisting in the birth of Athena by laying their hands on Zeus; although this class of vase-painters also makes use of the goddesses of childbirth who are of assistance merely by their divine presence, and by their mesmerizing gestures (*Mon. dell' Inst.* IX. 55). Not until the period of the Etruscan mirrors do we find, along with the general mode of representation, a reappearance of the realistic and practical conception of Eileithyia as midwife, taking actual part in the processes of birth by supporting Zeus and giving him massage (Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, I. 66; V. 6). Just because of this realistic trait, which is a characteristic peculiarity of Ionian art, I am inclined to trace the "Tyrrhenian" vases back to Ionian influence.¹³⁰

The bronze statuette of Eileithyia from Corinth, to which we

¹²⁸ See Hesychius, *s. vv.* 'Ελευθώ and 'Επιδυσσάμενη. On Demeter as midwife see Loeschcke, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, XXXIV. 1876, pp. 109, 111.

¹²⁹ See Loeschcke, in *Arch. Ztg.* 1876, pp. 108 sq. Winter, in *Mitth. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XIV. 1889, p. 8 suggests that the group was drawn after a Corinthian pattern. From the review of Reinach's article, mentioned above, note 114 it seems that he is inclined to attribute some of the black figured vase-paintings illustrating the birth of Athena to the Megarians. I am unfortunately not in a position to verify this theory.

¹³⁰ So also v. Duhn, in *Strena Helbigiana*, pp. 64 sq., and Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, III. p. 97 note 2, contrary to Thiersch's theory in his dissertation "*Tyrrhenische Amphoren*" (Leipzig, 1899).

have had frequent occasion to refer, represents the goddess wearing a *polos*, similar to that on one of the coins from Aigion (see above, page 27). On the other coin, as we have seen, she wears a diadem, very much like the head-dress on two black-figured vases. The diadem is also worn by Thanr and Ethausva, Etruscan goddesses of childbirth, in the representations of those divinities on Etruscan mirrors. But, in general, the vase-pictures figure Eileithyia with flowing locks and without any head-dress whatsoever. Only on red-figured ware is her hair sometimes done up in a knot.¹²⁸ In the Eileithyia-grotto on Paros Dr. Rubensohn found, as has been noted above, a fragmentary relief, representing, as he believes, Eileithyia, because the figure, whose upper body and head are preserved, is crowned with rays of light. This is a very appropriate emblem for our goddess and proves that also at Paros she was considered a goddess of light. We were able to conclude from the legend, which regarded the original home of Eileithyia as the realms of the Hyperboreans, which means nothing more than Lycia, the land of light, that at Delos and elsewhere Eileithyia was doubtless worshipped as a light-goddess. To find, therefore, in Paros the goddess crowned with beams of light, is a strong argument in favor of the same conception of Eileithyia's nature. We saw that the pre-historic and archaic idols were almost invariably decorated with a necklace. It may be more than mere chance, or a love for ornamental effect, that the vase-painters so frequently give Eileithyia this piece of jewelry. And yet, it need hardly refer to the story of the necklace (*Hymn to Delian Apollo*) with which Eileithyia was bribed by Iris to assist Leto in her pangs.¹²⁹

As regards the drapery of the Eileithyiai on the pottery of the black-figured style, we note that the goddess is clad in the Doric

¹²⁸ Eileithyia with hair done up: *El Cér.* I. 55, 63, 64, 65; with a diadem: *El Cér.* I. 57, 65 A; with a pad-like head-gear: *El Cér.* I. 57 (the two Eileithyiai to the right of Zeus), *Mon. dell' Inst.* IX. 55. Thanr and Ethausva with a diadem: Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, V. 6.

¹²⁹ See Preller-Robert, *Griech. Mythologie*,⁴ I. p. 237 and note 2.

sleeveless peplos, the dress commonly seen on the Attic vases of the archaic period. It is the garb of the Eileithyia-statuettes from Corinth. The oldest representation of Eileithyia wearing the Ionic chiton is found on the red-figured Oltos-kylix, and later on some of the coins. On an Etruscan mirror (Gerhard, *Etr. Sp.* I. 66) one of the birth-goddesses (Thalna) is nude down to her waist. But then, the Etruscans are particularly fond of representing even the most austere deities either partially or entirely nude at times. Because of their special delight in winged deities, they sometimes give wings even to their birth-goddesses, whoever they may be.¹²⁹ And yet, neither the Greek vase-paintings nor the Etruscan mirrors throw light on the question whether or not the cult-statue of Eileithyia at Bura was naked, for the vase-painters do not, as a rule, take their inspiration from cult-images; they deal rather with conventional types. Their source for new and original patterns is meagre indeed. This is nowhere better illustrated than on the above-mentioned vase, which depicts Demeter as goddess of childbirth in exactly the same type as Eileithyia. We cannot, therefore, expect to find accurate copies of cult-images in the vase-paintings, nor can we draw any conclusion about the appearance of the real drapery of the Eileithyiai-xoana at Athens, and the figure of that goddess at Aigion. But what we do learn from these vase-illustrations is the conception deeply rooted in the phantasy of the Greek people concerning the deities of childbirth. At every parturition, be it even the miraculous birth of Athena from the head of Zeus, Eileithyiai are absolutely necessary.

The vase-painters figure the Eileithyiai always as helpful and benevolent deities, as can be clearly seen from their pose. The god-

¹²⁹ Winged birth-goddesses on an Etruscan mirror: Gerhard, *Etrusk. Spiegel*, V. 6. Even Athena (Minerva) is represented on this mirror with wings. On the winged Athena in general, see Savignoni, in *Mitt. d. arch. Inst. Röm. Abt.* XII. 1897, pp. 307 *sqq.* On an Etrurian disk-shaped golden bulla found in Vulci (Chabouillet, *Catal.* 2551) a winged Athena plays the part of a birth-goddess. Cp. Heydemann, 'Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit.' *Zehntes Hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm* (1885), p. 15.

desses of childbirth are represented either as actually taking the part of a midwife or as being of assistance indirectly through sorcery. The attitude of the Eileithyiai who are helping in the latter manner is very remarkable and deserves careful analysis. On some monuments these deities stand upright with outstretched arms, the palm opened either outward or upward; on others, moreover, they are moving their arms alternately up and down, at the same time opening and closing their hands. My authority for this statement is based on the fact that quite frequently one hand is upraised and open, whereas the other is lowered and closed.¹²¹ From the description of Pausanias, and especially from the types on coins, we are led to believe that in some localities Eileithyia was supposed to make these movements of the arms holding torches in her hands. The gestures of the outstretched hands and of the rhythmic motion of the arms and hands had a soothing, mesmerizing effect, and were symbolic of loosening and unbinding. In this way the goddesses showed their benevolence and good-will, and hastened the birth. Natural magic, the playing of musical instruments and the singing of songs doubtless formed a very important part of the ceremony connected with the birth of a child.¹²²

¹²¹ For vase-paintings illustrating the Eileithyiai at the birth of Athena holding the palms of their hands toward Zeus, see *El Cér.* I. 57, 58—Gerhard, *Vasenbilder*, I. 2; Masner, *Wiener Katalog*, pl. IV. 237; *El Cér.* I. p. 190. On a black-figured amphora, Masner, *l. c.* p. 25 no. 223 the palms of Eileithyia's hands are held inwards, but this may be due to the awkwardness of the vase-painter. For the alternately moving up and down of the arms, and the opening and shutting of the hands, see, for example, *El Cér.* I. 59, 60, 62. In Gerhard, *Vasenbilder*, I. 5, Masner, *l. c.* pl. IV. 237 etc. the arms are moved alternately up and down, but the hands are open.

¹²² On the so-called Ludovisi-Throne a nude figure plays the double-flutes (see above, note 63), and Apollo on the vases illustrating the birth of Athena is quite frequently represented playing the lyre, so as to soothe the pains of father Zeus by gentle strains; cp. Wolters in *Εφημ. ἀρχ.* 1892, p. 228, and Dilthey, in *Arch. Epig. Mitt. aus Oesterreich*, II. pp. 50 sq. note 11. On the singing of songs at birth-scenes, see Plato, *Theaitetos*, p. 149c. On superstitions in general during the birth of a child, see the instructive remarks by Ploss, *Das Weib*,² II. pp. 245 sq. On gestures which retard birth, see Wolters, *l. c.* pp. 228, 226 note 2.

The Romans, indeed, believed in an opposite gesture, the crossing of fingers or of legs, which retarded birth.¹²⁸ The outstretched arms of Eileithyia in the vase-paintings recall a passage in the Anthology (*Anth. Pal.* VI. 271), where Artemis appeared at the birth of a child without her bow, and with outstretched, gentle hands. The gesture of the outstretched hands or of the swinging of the arms was a sort of magic practised not only by the birth goddesses, but also by all such deities who wished to show their willingness to be of assistance or support to mankind.¹²⁹

While discussing Eileithyia Eulinos in Delos and Kleitor (see above, page 30) I stated that in the east pediment of the Parthenon, Moirai took the place of Eileithyia. It is now necessary to verify this statement. The entire evidence rests on the representation of the birth of Athena, sculptured in relief on a well-curb or puteal, now in Madrid, which, according to my belief, Professor von Schneider, with good cause, brought to bear on the subject, and used as a basis for his reconstruction of the pediment figures.¹³⁰ Professor Sauer's observations on the floor of the pediment¹³¹ prove beyond doubt that Zeus was seated in profile to the right, just as on the

¹²⁸ The demons on the kylix from Kyrene show their homage and good-will by stretching out their hands; see Studniczka, *Kyrene*, p. 18 fig. 10= Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 1, p. 1730 fig. 5. For this gesture, indicative of succor, in connection with the labors of Herakles and Theseus, see *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, 1889, pl. IV. fig. 6^b; pl. V. figs. 4^b, 1^b.—G. Körte, in *Archäologische Zeitung*, 1876, p. 191 note 3 explains this gesture of the Eileithyiai differently. He asserts that they thereby express their astonishment, because Athena was born by means of the ax of Hephaistos and not through their help. But on the vase, *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI. 56, 3, which represents the moment before the birth, one of the goddesses of birth is massaging the head of Zeus, whereas the other is making this hocus-pocus gesture of assistance and good-will. In this case, moreover, it is impossible to think of an expression of astonishment on the part of the goddess, because the miraculous birth has not yet taken place. Cp. also Sittl, *Gebürden*, pp. 322 sq.

¹²⁹ See Schneider, 'Die Geburt der Athena,' pp. 32 sqq. with pl. I= *Wiener Vorlegeblätter*, Serie VIII. pl. XI. 3= Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, I. p. 219. See also Sauer, in *Mitt. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XVI. 1891, pp. 69, 85; and Furtwängler, *Meisterwerke d. griech. Plastik*, pp. 246 sq.=*id.*, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, pp. 463 sqq.

Madrid relief. Now, since, with the exception of the group of the Moirai, the relief of the well-curb shows strong influence of the Parthenon pediment-figures, we are safe in inferring that the three sisters on the relief, who are by their attributes proven to be the Fates, may well be used to throw light on the correct naming of the beautiful group of three sisters commonly known as the "Thauschwestern." To be sure, the Moirai of the puteal are, as far as artistic composition is concerned, entirely independent of the "Thauschwestern,"¹²⁸ but as Professor Furtwängler has pointed out, this is due to the fact that the relief is designed in a space of equal height, whereas the pediment figures are designed in a triangular space. The differently shaped surfaces at the disposal of the artists necessitated in both cases the peculiarity of the grouping. That the artist of the puteal copied a renowned group of the fifth century B. C. for his central figure is proven especially by his type of Athena, which is found in more replicas than Professor von Schneider was in a position to know of at the time he wrote his inspiring article. In addition to the material collected by him (on pp. 39 sqq.) of similar Athena-types, three important copies must be added: (1) the Athena-statuettes found in Epidauros and first published by Professor Petersen;¹²⁹ (2) a marble statuette reported to have come from Athens, now in the Berlin Museum (*Beschreibung d. Skulpturen*, no. 74); (3) the Athena of the gigantomachy on the Pergamene altar-relief (Baumeister, *Denkmäler*, II. pl. 38, fig. 1420). Not only the Athena but also the Nike of the last-mentioned monument is closely related to the Athena-group on the puteal in Madrid, with the only difference that the Nike on the Pergamene altar is flying toward Athena from the right. I am convinced that the artist of the Pergamene Athena-group, as well as the artist of the well-curb, took the middle group of the east

¹²⁸ See Amelung, *Basis aus Mantinea*, pp. 13 sq.

¹²⁹ See Petersen, in *Mitt. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, XI. 1886, pp. 311, 314; *Εφημ. ἀρχ.* 1886, pl. 12; Kabbadias, *Γλυπτά*, no. 274; *id.*, *Fouilles d'Epidaure*, p. 46 no. 49.

pediment of the Parthenon as his prototype, and that the Pergamene sculptor held even more closely to his original, as far as Athena and Nike are concerned, than did the sculptor of the Madrid puteal, because of the position of Nike. On the puteal the two parallel lines produced by Athena and Nike spoil the artistic effect of the composition, and equally unfavorable is the position of Nike between Zeus and Athena. I cannot agree with Dr. Six that Nike held this position in the Parthenon pediment so as to form a connecting link between father and daughter. From the puteal one is liable to get the impression that Nike and not Athena has just sprung from the head of Zeus, as Professor Kekulé von Stradonitz has very aptly put it.¹²⁷ All these difficulties vanish, if we imagine the goddess of victory counterbalancing Athena and sweeping down from the right, in order to crown the newly born goddess. I, at least, am inclined to imagine the central scene of the east pediment of the Parthenon to have been thus composed. Of the remaining figures of this pediment there are none that would suit the character and pose of Eileithyia, and the fact that the Fates were substituted for her on the puteal at Madrid, is sufficient proof that the same substitution took place on the pediment.

As regards the birth of Dionysos on vases and reliefs, Eileithyia plays a less important role. On a red-figured vase of the fourth century B. C., made in southern Italy—where it is now preserved is unknown—Eileithyia is figured fully draped; her hair done up behind with a fillet.¹²⁸ She is about to receive in a piece of cloth¹²⁹ the little Dionysos-child, who is just arising from the thigh of Zeus. An Etruscan mirror (Gerhard, *Etr. Sp.* I. 82) may well be compared with this representation, for it shows us Thalna,

¹²⁷ See Kekulé, in *Jahrb. d. arch. Instituts*, 1890, p. 199; and Six, *ib.* 1894, p. 86.

¹²⁸ See Heydemann, 'Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit.' *Zehntes Halbjährliches Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1885, p. 13; figured in Lenormant, *Gazette Archéologique*, VI. 1880, p. 72.

¹²⁹ On the piece of cloth used at the birth of a child, see Wolters, *Εφημ. ἀρχ.* X. 1892, p. 228 note 2.

fully draped, taking the new-born Dionysos from the thigh of Zeus (Tinia). Whether the winged goddess of birth on the child's sarcophagus, called the Nugent sarcophagus, and the likewise winged goddess wrapping, in a most realistic manner, a bandage around the leg of Zeus on the fragment of a marble relief,¹²⁰ may be identified with Eileithyia is very doubtful. How the Eileithyia in the painting of Ktesilochos expressed their services at the birth of Dionysos is unfortunately not reported by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* 35, 140). Nor does it seem probable that Eileithyia was represented on the frieze from the Roman stage of the Dionysos theater at Athens, if the group which is usually held to illustrate this scene is correctly interpreted.¹²¹

Herewith the monuments at present known to us as illustrating Eileithyia are exhausted. It would lead us too far to discuss in detail the birth-scenes on Roman sarcophagi, etc., especially since the assisting women cannot be named; that is to say, we do not know whether human midwives or goddesses of childbirth were

¹²⁰ For the Nugent sarcophagus, see Heydemann, 'Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit,' pp. 8 sq., 16 sq. It is figured in Müller-Wieseler, *Denkmäler d. Kunst*, XXXIV. 392=*Mon. dell' Inst.* I. 45A. For the fragment of the marble relief, see Visconti, in *Bullettino della commissione municipale* (Roma), II. 1874, pp. 89 sqq. with pl. I. fig. 3; cp. Heydemann, *l. c.* p. 17.

¹²¹ The figures in high relief which decorate the front of this stage, erected by Phaidros in the third century A. D., were not originally made for such a purpose. The workmanship, which is too good for that period, belongs rather to the early Graeco-Roman period. The group assigned by Miss Harrison (*Ancient Athens*, p. 282 fig. 23) to the birth of Dionysos—she doubtless follows the interpretation given by F. Matz, 'I rilievi del proscenio del teatro di Bacco in Atene,' in *Annali dell' Istituto*, 42 (1870), pp. 97 sqq., an article which at present I am not in a position to procure—seems to me to be less suited to the occasion than another group of this frieze (fig. 25 in Miss Harrison's book=*Brunn-Bruckmann, Denkmäler griech. u. röm. Sculptur*, no. 15, 1). Here Zeus, almost entirely nude, is seated facing the left and the child, now broken away, was doubtless just springing from his father's left thigh; for, that some foreign object about the size of a child was modelled in one piece with the left upper leg of Zeus is apparent from its battered state. If this interpretation be correct, then the female figure dressed in the Doric sleeveless peplos and himation is Eileithyia about to receive the child.

meant. The Greek vase-paintings have given us a sufficiently clear picture of Eileithyia, as she was believed, in the imagination of the masses, to have appeared, and to have conducted herself. Additional conclusions regarding the appearance of her cult-images, or the expression of her face, cannot be drawn from the vase-pictures. It has seemed unnecessary to take all the other divinities into consideration, who are present on the monuments along with Eileithyia at the birth of Athena. The birth took place on Mt. Olympus, and among the inquisitive deities who are hastening to the scene, none were of actual assistance in the process of the birth except Hephaistos or Prometheus. It would be a mistake to conclude that all the gods and goddesses who were present on this occasion must therefore be considered divinities of childbirth. In the case of Apollo, however, since he is almost always associated with this scene playing the lyre, we may perhaps be allowed to attribute his presence to the healing power of music.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

It has been my aim in this paper to throw as much light as possible on the cult and character of Eileithyia, by making in the first place a careful study of the literary evidence regarding her sanctuaries and her nature. Such a study necessarily forms the basis of all our knowledge concerning the religious conception of the gods. But it seemed to me quite necessary to approach the subject from a new standpoint, by making a careful collection of the votive offerings, which, as far as I know, have been sadly neglected in all works on mythology and religion. It is clear that we get a much more complete picture of Eileithyia-sanctuaries, if we have in reality seen the various kinds of offerings which customarily decorated her sacred precincts. Again, we obtain a clearer idea of what the people thought of Eileithyia, after having seen the monuments which illustrate her functions.

It must be said in conclusion, that the word "Eileithyia" has not yet been satisfactorily explained. Some argue that "Eileithyia," which appears in so many forms, is a borrowed word of pre-Greek origin.¹²² Others say that it goes back to the verb *ἔλω*, and contains the idea of *pressing* during parturition, or of *revolving*, as descriptive of women in travail.¹²³ Be that as it may, the participial ending, *via*, points to an active goddess who participates in the process of child-bearing. Indeed, as Professor Usener has aptly put it, the "Eileithyiai" were originally the labor-pains themselves.¹²⁴ On the whole, then, we see that the Eileithyiai, because

¹²² See Usener, in *Rheinisches Museum*, XXIII. p. 333 note 45.

¹²³ See Enmann, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 2, p. 1969.

¹²⁴ *Götternamen*, p. 299. Cp. Fick-Bechtel, *Personennamen*, p. 454.

of the formation of the word, and again, because of their unlimited number, were originally held to be the travail-pangs themselves, which every woman suffered in childbirth. When the throes were felt, it was thought that Eileithyia had come. She could, therefore, also be called Eleutho (*ἔρχομαι*), referring to the *coming* of the pains. But with Eleusinia, the Eleusinian goddess Demeter, Eleutho=Eileithyia has nothing in common, although the forms have been connected by some,¹²⁶ and although Demeter in Syracuse and Tarentum was called Eleutho and Epilysamene. The Eleusinian Demeter is a *coming* goddess in an altogether different sense.¹²⁷ As the personification of travail-pangs Eileithyia is closely related to the Moirai. Indeed, she was even identified with the Fates, and as one of their number, is pre-eminently the protecting deity of women, or, if we so choose to put it, every woman has her own Eileithyia, without whom it would be impossible to give birth to children.

From her original home and attributes we learned that Eileithyia was closely associated with deities of light. It may have been due to this, that she was held by some to be a lunar goddess. Whether she originally had any connection with the moon, is difficult to say, although we have evidence that she was called Selene, and that the moon was supposed to influence the processes of birth.¹²⁸ Furthermore, we know that Eileithyia was euphemistically called Eukoline, an epithet of Hekate as a lunar and birth goddess. In Argos, too, she was held to be a moon-goddess, for people sacrificed dogs to her for easy delivery. It was necessary to give Eileithyia this euphemistic name, Eukoline, because by nature she was held to be an austere deity, hostile to mankind, who came with bitter anguish.¹²⁹ And so she had to be appeased and propitiated

¹²⁶ See Toepffer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 221 note 2; Bloch, in Roscher's *Lexikon*, II. 1, p. 1330.

¹²⁷ See Pfuhl, *De Atheniensium Pompis Sacris* (Berlin, 1900), p. 60 with note 29.

¹²⁸ Cp. Nonnos, *Dionysiaka*, 38, 150; Plutarch, *Quaest. Symp.* p. 659 A.

¹²⁹ Cp. Theokritos, *Id.* 27, lines 28 sq.

with all kinds of sacrifices, vows, and gifts. Indeed, in the second Orphic Hymn she is literally smothered with the most flattering epithets.¹³⁹ When once appeased, she was the very personification of good-will, as we learn from the gesture of her outstretched hands and from her soothing touch.¹⁴⁰ As a well-wishing and kind-hearted goddess she is above all else Kourosoös and Kourotraphos, which means that she is not only the protectress of women, but also the guardian-angel, so to speak, of children.

Only occasionally is Eileithyia a motherly goddess. As such there is a close relationship between her and Aphrodite Ourania. Whether, however, as a goddess of generation and procreation, she was in any way connected with the pre-historic female idols, which were discussed in the first chapter of this paper, cannot be determined as long as such idols are not found in an Eileithyia-sanctuary.

¹³⁹ See also Bruckmann, *Epitheta Deorum*, 94 sq.

¹⁴⁰ Cp. Ovid, *Metam.* X. 510 sq. where Lucina touches Myrrha in travail with her gentle hand, while reciting some incantation. In like manner it must also be explained that Cheiron=χεῖρλοφος the god of the "pain-mitigating hand" was received into the circle of Thera birth-deities (*J. G. I. fasc. III.* 360). Cp. also Herondas, IV. 17 sq. and the Krinagoras Epigram, *Anthol. Palat.* VI. 244: μαλακαῖς χερσὶ σὺν Ἑπιδόρῃ. When Andromache of Epeiros prayed to Asklepios at Epidauros for offspring, he merely touched her naked body, and she bore her husband Arybbas a son (Cavvadias, *Fouilles d'Épidaure*, p. 30 no. 2 lines 61-63). For birth-goddesses who lay their hands on their patients, see *Mon. dell' Inst.* VI. 56, 2-3; Gerhard, *Etruskische Spiegel*, I. 66, *ib.* V. 6=*Mon. dell' Inst.* IX. 56, 3. Cp. also Marx, in *Mitt. d. arch. Inst. in Athen*, X. pp. 188 sqq. and Maass, *De Aeschyli Supplicibus*, pp. 10 sq., 19.

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